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A
VINDICATION
OF THE
Primitive Christians,
In point of
Obedience to their Prince,
AGAINST
The Calumnies of a Book intituled
THE
Life of Julian,

Written by ECEBOLIUS the Sophist.

As also the
Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*
Cleared, in Defence of Dr. HICKS.

Together with an APPENDIX:
Being a more full and distinct Answer
to Mr. *Tho. Hunt's* Preface and Postscript.

Unto all which is added
The Life of *Julian* enlarg'd.

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over against St. Dunstan's Church. 1 6 8 3.



TO THE
Most Reverend Father in God,
W I L L I A M,

By Divine Providence
Lord Archb^p of *Canterbury*,
Primate of all *England*, and Metropo-
litan, And one of his Majesties most
Honourable Privy-Council, &c.

May it please your Grace,



Although (as *Solomon* says)
Every thing is beautiful
in his season ; and there
was a time when a *Cup*
of cold Water was an ac-
ceptable Present to an *Emperour* : yet
should I not have presumed to offer
so mean a Present to so Great a Per-
son, as a little *Water* in a homely *Ves-*
sel, taken up in haste and disorder, (as

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men are wont to do when the *Neighbourhood* is on fire) had it not been that the *Fire-brands* which I endeavour to extinguish, have not onely been scattered up and down among combustible matter through the Nation, but that the *Bontefens* have been so desperately bold, as to throw some of their *Fire-balls* into the *August Assembly* of his Majesties most Honourable Privy-Council. Such was the *Barbarous Celeusma*, the *Answers* to Dr. *Stillingfleet*, &c. and now a *Traiterous Preface* and *Postscript* dedicated by one *Tho. Hunt* to the Right Honourable *John Earl of Radnor*, &c. Lord President of his Majesties most Honourable Privy-Council.

I am well assured, that that *Judicious* and *Noble Lord* hath either so contemned those seditious and treasonable *Libels*, as not to vouchsafe them the *Reading*; or if he hath read them,
that

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that they kindled a *just indignation* in his *loyal breast*, and condemned *them* to the *fire*, as designed to set the *Nation* in a *flame*. The Author tells us truly, that *the reason of his Dedication was to create a Prejudice*: and the thing is self-evident, that the greatest *Adversaries* which that *Noble Lord* hath (if at least he hath any: for I know he can have *none*, but among the *façious* and *seditions* *Rabble* that are acted by *such Seducers*) could not have offered a *greater Affront* to a Person of his *known Wisdom* and *Integrity*, than such a *Dedication* amounts unto; and therefore I doubt not but those *fiery Darts* which that Author hath *shot* against so firm a *Fortress* of *Religion* and *Loyalty*, will recoil on his own head.

If men of such *fiery tempers* have presumed of *favour* from so *Great* Persons, I cannot but hope for your

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Graces *pardon*, who have endeavoured, though in a *hasty* and *rude manner*, to *extinguish* those *Wilde-fires* which they have *kindled* : for God onely knows *how great a matter a little such fire*, blown (as it is) with *popular breath*, may *kindle* , if not timely prevented.

The Devil was wont to carry on his designs formerly as an *Angel of Light* ; and then the *deluded Instruments* deserved some *pity* : But now that he appears in his *proper Colours*, a *Noon-day-Devil*, breathing out *flames of fire* and a *horrible stench*, none but such as are by his *Sorceries* and *Witchcrafts* become his *covenanted Servants*, would seek to bring *others* under the same *sin* and *condemnation* with *themselves*, as being already *self-condemned*, and having *sinned away* all *hopes of mercy* from God or man.

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All those *Coals of Sedition and Rebellion* which were *raked up* under the *Ashes* of this *ruined Nation*, and which we might in reason hope, had been quite *extinguished* by the enjoyment of *Peace and Truth, Prosperity and Plenty*, for twenty years together, have been *secretly fomented*, and are now *publickly scattered*, to cause a *New Conflagration*.

I humbly beg your *Graces patience* to mind the *present Age*, how ready they are to be led over the *same Precipices*, by the *same Impostures*, and by *some of the same men* by whom the *former Age* was *ruined*: onely, they were led on by *degrees*, and *colourable pretences*; the *Snare was not spread* in their sight, as it is *now* in *ours*, who are *perswaded with open eyes*, and a *dreadful prospect of Rebellion and Damnation* before us, to cast our selves headlong into them both. It

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It was after a long Progress and unhappy success of the former War, that John Goodwin (and others) published his *Evangelium Armatum*, his new Gospel-liberty, affirming, That the lawfulness of Resistance is now discovered to Gods Church, as the necessary means to ruine Antichrist: for the Kings of the Earth (saith he) will never be perswaded to effect this great and holy work, and therefore the People must. He in the 30, 31, 32 pages of his *Anti-Cavalierism*, among many other Passages, hath these words, which every Christian that reads them must abhor.

‘ Amongst many other Truths
‘ which were of necessity to be laid a-
‘ sleep, for the passing of this Beast
‘ (Antichrist) unto his great power
‘ and authority, and for the maintai-
‘ ning and safe guarding of him in the
‘ possession thereof, this is one of spe-
‘ cial

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cial consideration, That Christians
may lawfully in a lawful way stand
up to defend themselves, in case they
be able, against any unlawful At-
tacks, by what Assailants, or by what
pretended Authority soever made
upon them : for had this Opinion
been timeously enough, and sub-
stantially taught in the Church, it
would certainly have caused an Ab-
ortion in Antichrists birth, and so
have disappointed the Devil of his
first-born, had not the Spirits, and
Judgments, and Consciences of men
been as it were cowed and marvel-
lously embased and kept under, and
so prepared for Antichrists Lure, by
Doctrines and Tenets excessively ad-
vancing the power of Superiours o-
ver Inferiours, and binding Iron
yokes and heavie burdens on those
that were in subjection; doubtless
they would never have bowed down
their backs so low, as to let such a
Beast

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‘Beast rule over them ; they would
‘never have resigned up their Judge-
‘ments and Consciences into the
‘hands of such a Spiritual Tyrant as
‘he. So that you see there was a
‘special necessity, for the letting of
‘Antichrist into the world, yea and
‘for the continuance of him in his
‘Throne, that no such Opinion as
‘this which we speak of, whether
‘truth or untruth, should be taught
‘and believed ; I mean, which vin-
‘dicateth and maintaineth the just
‘Rights, and Liberties, and Priviledges
‘of those that live under authority and
‘subjection to others. Whereas now
‘on the contrary, that time of Gods
‘preordination and purpose for the
‘downfal of Antichrist drawing neer,
‘there is a kind of necessity that those
‘truths which have slept for many
‘years, should now be awakened ;
‘and particularly, *That God should re-
‘veal and discover unto his faithful*
‘Mini-

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‘ Ministers and other his servants, the
‘ just bounds and limits of Authority and
‘ Power, and consequently the just and
‘ full extent of the lawful Liberties of
‘ those that live in subjection. --- E-
‘ vident it is, that they are the Commo-
‘ nalty of Christians, I mean Christians
‘ of ordinary Rank and Quality, that
‘ shall be most active, and have the
‘ principal hand in executing the Judg-
‘ ments of God upon the Whore. Con-
‘ sider that place, Rev. 18. 4, 5, 6.
‘ Now that this service shall be per-
‘ formed unto God by them, (Chri-
‘ stians I mean of under Rank and
‘ Quality) contrary to the will, de-
‘ sires, or commands of those Kings
‘ and Princes under whom they live,
‘ it appears by that which immediately
‘ followeth, v. 9. And whereas the
Text saith expressly that the *ten Kings*
shall hate the whore, and shall make her
desolate and naked, and eat her flesh,
and burn her with fire; for God hath

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put it in their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree and give their Kingdom unto the Beast until the Words of God shall be fulfilled: To prevent this Objection, because God in his good time will arm the Kings to fight joyntly the Lords battel against the Beast; he thus interprets that place; 'I conceive (saith he) this is not meant 'of the persons of Kings, but of their 'States and Kingdoms, (i. e.) of the 'generality of the people under 'them, p. 32. As if the meaning of-- The Kings shall hate the Beast, were, The People shall hate their Kings, and rebel against them, in order to the destruction of Antichrist.

Nothing is more evident, than that *this Doctrine* which he would promote for the *pulling down* of *Antichrist*, was that by which *Antichrist* was advanced to that *sublimity of Power* which he now hath, and by which
he

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he is still supported in it ; unless they will deny the Pope to be *Antichrist* : for this *Resistance* of *lawful Authority* is still practised and defended by that Church. And how can they blame that Church, who teach and practise the same things ? If ever the Pope be pulled down by the Doctrine and Practice of *Resistance* of lawful Princes, it will be to set up Another in his room.

Now that the Doctrine which was taught by this wretched man and *John Milton*, the onely two persons that publickly defended the *Parricide* committed on that incomparable King, when he was cast out of his Throne, and an *Usurper* placed in it, is the same which is now revived by these two Authors whom I have under consideration ; I submit to your Graces judgment, and the Consciences of all impartial Readers. And to what a
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prodigious height of Impiety are they come, who in *such times of Peace*, under a most *gracious and religious Prince*, and after *such experiences* of the miserable *effects* of them, shall *openly plead* for the same *Antiscriptural and Antichristian Doctrines and Practices*, by which *these men* endeavour at *one leap*, (as the Devil did the herd of Swine) to plunge the *Multitude* over head and ears in *Rebellion and Confusion* ! And yet to court the People, Mr. *Hunt* tells them in the close of his Preface, That *Loyalty, Religion, and the Prosperity and Peace of his Country*, have entirely conducted his thoughts and guided his hand in this Work, (whereas if he were not the same person , yet he useth the same Arguments as an anonymous Author did in a Tract concerning *Mixt and Limited Monarchy*) : That he hath affirmed nothing but what is publickly known for truth : That Justice it
self

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self will acquit him from having done any thing amiss : That he hath encircled himself (in his own considerations) as in a *brazen wall* (when it is but a *brazen face*). And as for the fears of Rage and Injustice, they shall never affect him : but I fear the *hand-writing* of the Laws, and the *sentence* of Justice may one day *shake* his confidence.

I joyn Issues with him in his *Appeal* concerning his *Writings*, and the *Reply* now made to them : and though he have *provoked* me to say something that may *balance* the Reputation of *Religion* and *Loyalty*, &c. which he assumes to himself, I shall onely say, That I am one who have served in the Ministry of the *Established Religion* for *forty years* together ; I have *kept* my *Station*, and *defended* my *Post* against all *Affaults* : I have seen those *deplorable times*, wherein it was coun-

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ted a *daring thing* to assert the use of the *Lords Prayer* in the *Publick Assemblies*, against the *Blasphemies* of *J. O.* I have *withstood* the attempts of *Mr. Baxter, Humfries, Lob, and others*, for the disturbance of our publick Peace. And though by *age* and other *infirmities* I might claim the priviledge of a *Miles Emeritus*, yet have I engaged *once more* against *these two Incendiaries*; and having the *same cause* of *Religion* and *Loyalty* to defend, I cannot doubt of *success* against *such Aggressors*, of whom your Grace will find a far different Character from that which they give of themselves: for,

These two *Authors*, like *Simeon* and *Levi*, are so *confederate*, that they *strive* who shall *exceed* the other in *doing mischief*. The one undermines the foundation of the *Church* in her *Ministry*: The other, that of the
State

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State in the Royal Authority. Again, The one plays with the Crown, as if it were a Tennis-ball: The other derides the Doctrine of the Cross, comparing it with that of the Great Turks Bow-string. The one encourageth Resistance, and very modestly insinuates a Reward due to such as shall kill those (be they Princes or others) who oppose the Religion which they approve of: The other more confidently asserts the excluding (not of a single Monarch, but) even Monarchy it self, though it be in the glorious Family of the STUARTS, as he Ironically calls them. Yet so great is the Revolt of our People both from God and the King, that these two (like Jeroboam's Calves which he set up as well to alter the established Worship, as to translate the Kingdom from the Family of David) are worshipped by the Rabble from Dan to Beersheba.

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And now I beseech your *Grace* not to be offended with this *Confident Address* of an *obscure Person*, who after various *tossings*, having through the great mercy of God escaped *Shipwreck* in that great *Hurricane* wherein many thousands more worthy persons *perished*, is still embarked in that *ancient Vessel* wherein he hopes to end his days in peace; nothing doubting, but that God, who *stilled the raging of that Sea*, and *the madness of that People*, will also lead us without any harm through those *Fires* which so many *busie-bodies* are now kindling against us; and that he will *preserve* us even *in the flames*; at which though we be *affrighted*, as *Moses* was at the *burning Bush*, yet we shall not be *consumed* by them: Especially while we have such a *CÆSAR*, who *all his life-time* hath been a *Favourite of Heaven*; being born, preserved, restored, guided,

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ded, and supported by a *Chain of Miracles*: And such a *principal Member* of that *Church of Christ* embarked with us, *against which the gates of Hell shall never prevail*; and having also such a *pious and experienced Pilot* as your *Grace*, who hath *both his Eyes and his Heart to Heaven* for *his own direction*, and *both his hands to the Helm*, for the conduct of the *People committed to his Charge*.

There remains nothing to the *perfecting* our *Establishment*, but the casting out those *Jonahs* which lie *asleep* in the *bottom of the Ship*; I mean our *sins*, which have caused the *wrath of God* to kindle those *fires* in the midst of us, which may justly make us as *desolate* as *Sodom* or *Gomorrha*. That with *penitent Tears*, *servent and unanimous Prayers*, *seasonable and serious reformation* of our *Lives*, we would deprecate Gods displeasure,
and

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and that yet he would make us of *one heart and mind in considering and doing the things that belong to our peace, before they are hid from our eyes:* That in these things I may do some acceptable service to the *Church of Christ on Earth*, and with it have my *Reward in Heaven*, is the hearty Prayers and great Ambition of

Your Graces

most humble and

most dutiful Servant,

Tho. Long.

L. Cook's third part of Institutes, p. 36.

PERUSE over all *Books, Records, and Histories*, and you shall find a *Principle in Law, a Rule in Reason, and a Tryal in Experience*, That *Treason* doth ever produce *fatal and final destruction* to the *Offender*; and never attains to the *desired end* (two incidents inseparable thereunto). And therefore let all men abandon it, as the *poysonous Bait* of the *Devil*; and follow the *Precept in Holy Scripture: Serve God, and honour the King; and have no company with the Seditious.*

Mr. Hunt's Preface to the Argument for Bishops.

OUR *Adversaries* were treated *too kindly*, and deserve *sharper reflections* than are made upon them for their *false and perverse Reasonings*; and ought to *lose that Reputation* which they *abuse* to the *hurt* of the *Government*.---Nor is it for the *honour* of our *Faculty*, that never fails to supply the *worst Cause* with *Advocates*.

ERRATA.

PAge 17. line 4. r. *Or.* In the Preface, for *Cyrl*, r. *Gregory* in four places. p. 46. l. 1. r. *contradictious Zeal*. p. 49. r. *Iustitia*. p. 50. r. *templ.* p. 50. r. *Constantium*. p. 91. r. *adversary*. p. 96. dele *Ani* *Past.* p. 107. r. *Anam*. *ibid.* for *Cartis* r. *Cartius*. p. 124 after *patience* add *of*. p. 129. r. *confirmed*. p. 152. r. *though*. p. 185. r. *atrocia*. p. 186. r. *paries*. p. 205. r. *Sumus*. p. 224. r. *sumus*. p. 226. r. *fortold*. p. 233. r. *Reges*. *Eid.* r. *Depravari*. p. 242. l. 25. r. *Or.* *ibid.* *suppose*. p. 262. dele after the fifth line four lines which are doubled.

T O



TO THE READER.



S often as I consider the numerous Pamphlets which the Scribblers of this Age have brought forth, it calls to my mind what I have read of a sort of Indian Rats, which are said to be pregnant whilst they are in the belly of their Dams. Every Libel propagates such a numberless Issue, that, as one observed of the increase of Faction, the first Separation might say to its Off-spring, Arise, Separation, and go to thy Separation; for thy Separation's Separation hath a Separation.

But of all the Libels that have been lately written, none are more fruitful (as it is mostly with Venomous Creatures) than those which have been written against the Established Government. There was a Swarm of such in the Late Unhappie Times; and some of the Authors,

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(as well as that sort of Writings) are yet alive,
or revived, to create new Disturbances : And
as Horace observes,

Ætas parentum pejor avis
Tulit progeniem vitiosiore.

*Every Pamphlet hath more of venome, than that
from whence it had its birth.*

Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, were the
Great Grandfires of this monstrous Progenie :
The Covenanters, Nye, Marshal, and the
Smectymnuans, were their genuine Off-spring.
To these succeed (notwithstanding the perem-
ptory Vote for Exclusion) John Goodwin,
Owen, Harington, and Baxter ; all right Com-
monwealths-men ; with Milton, and May, and
many others, whose Writings have by men of
like Principles been reviewed, reprinted, and re-
commended to the present Age.

I shall onely instance in the Treatise now un-
der consideration, which hath contracted and im-
proved the Antimonarchical principles which lay
scattered in the Authors last mentioned, and in
the Character of the Popish Successor, Plato
Redivivus, and other seditious Pamphlets ; but
especially from Mr. Hunt's Postscript : for cer-
tainly our Author's teeth were set on edge by
Mr. Hunt's sowre Grapes ; and he makes it his
business to blow up the Coals which he had kin-
led.

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led. The great Notion on which all his Discourse is builded, is from Mr. Hunt, p. 46, & 47. (And facile est inventis addere). Let no man (says Mr. Hunt) betray his Countrey and Religion, by pretending the example of the patience and sufferings of the Primitive Christians for our Rule. The Reformed Religion hath acquired a Civil right, and the protection of Laws. If we ought not to lose our Lives, Liberties, and Estates, but where forfeited by Law; we ought much rather not to lose them for the profession of the best Religion, which by Law is made the Publick National Religion, &c. This gave occasion to the greatest part of his Book, which is a loud and notorious Calumny against the Primitive Christians, viz. their patient submission to their unjust and cruel Persecutors.

From Mr. Hunt he took his instance of Mary Queen of Scots, of whom he speaks, p. 48. and says, Scarce a Child but hath heard what was done, said, and maintained by the Clergie of England in the case of Mary Queen of Scots, a Popish Successor, in the earliett time of our Reformation. Upon this our Author paraphraseth at large, from p. 12. to the 18th of his Preface.

His deriding of the Succession in the right Line, is taken from Mr. Hunt, p. 47. If any be so vain as to say that a lawful course of Succession

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cession is established among us by Divine Right, he is a man fitted to believe Transubstantiation, and the Infallibility of the Pope: *And our Authors Comments on this, fill many pages. Concerning Arbitrary Power, compare Mr. Hunt, p. 42. and 52. with the 78. of our Author's: and p. 241. Mr. Hunt minded him of the Doctrine of Sibthorpe and Manwaring, of which in p. 77.*

P. 47. *Mr. Hunt's Comparison between Popery and Paganism, gave him a Text for another part of his book; and from a hint in p. 49. That we must not suspend all the legal security we have for our preservation upon the life of our present King: there are a hundred hints for that one, to prepare people for actual Resistance and Rebellion.*

Thus the Leprosie of Naaman cleaves to this covetous Gehazi, and spreads it self through the whole book, so as it becomes a continued Scab. And I pray God it may creep no farther.

But for this one thing our Author is very culpable, that having got these and many other Materials for his Babel, he never mentions his Founder: Onely, p. 88. he says, A worthy person hath lately observed, That one single Arm unresisted, may go a great way in murdering a Nation. But works of darkness hate the light, and therefore he thought fit to conceal both their names.

The

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The Author of the Life of Julian seemeth very fit to describe an Apostate having himself apostatized from the Doctrine of the Church whereof he hath long professed himself to be a Member, as also from the judgment and practice of the Primitive Christians, against whom his book is a very notorious Libel; and by which (if it should be credited) he would wound the Reputation of those Primitive Christians more than Julian hath done. For he says himself, That (but for their name) Julian had better have fallen among so many Barbarians than among them, p. 66.

These two things are what I designe: first, to wipe off the dirty Aspersions cast by the Author on the Christians in Julian's time, which have more of an Invective against them, than any thing that St. Cyril wrote against Julian himself. And secondly, to prevent the infection of those false and dangerous Opinions in the case of Obedience to Magistrates, which this distempered Generation are too much disposed to receive, and (as is usual with infected persons) to propagate, and make them epidemical. I intend not a Vindication of the Papists, nor of Julian, though (as the Proverb says) The Devil is not so black as he's painted, (let Baal plead for himself) I onely designe a short Apologie for the Primitive Christians, whom our Author represents as so many Apostates from their Predecessors in the days of Dioclesian. when by their patient sufferings

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ferings they more honoured the Gospel, than the Christian Emperours did by all the Priviledges and Largesses wherewith they endowed the Church. And he might with equal truth have objected the same things against the Christians in the time of Constantius, as he doth against Julian: for he being an Arian, and violently persecuting many Orthodox Bishops, setting the Arians in their places, some of them did speak far otherwise of him than St. Cyril doth; yet none attempted to resist him, but pray'd for him, and patiently submitted to his unjust Chastisements, as being their lawful Governour. Of which hereafter.

A N
ANSWER
 TO THE
PREFACE
 OF OUR
 Author's Life of *JULIAN*.

OUr Author seems better read in the *Alcaron* than the *Scriptures*; that hath found out a Comparison for his Majesties Subjects from a Vision of *Mahomet*, when he might have found more suitable representations of them from the *holy Scriptures*, as in *David's* Subjects, who were careful *not onely of his safety*, but *all his house*, 2 Sam. 19. 14. Christ himself and his Apostles have delivered for the good of all succeeding Ages, such Precepts and Examples of Christian obedience and subjection, as the most loyal *Addressers*

(even the *men of Rippon* themselves) come short of. It was their bounden duty at such a time to make their Profession to adhere to *his Majestie, his Heirs and Successors*; it was no more than what the Law of God and the Nation hath obliged them to; so that they are neither *Guelpbs*, nor *Gibelines*, nor *Papists*, nor *Phanaticks*, but such as are ready to *render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsars, and unto God the things which are Gods*: nor could they sufficiently expreis their thankfulness to his Majestie, (when too many began to exercise an arbitrary way of vexing their fellow-subjects, and supersede the established Laws) for his gracious Declaration to *govern according to the established Laws*, and (which is that which gives offence to too many) *to cause others to do so too.*

They know best how to reconcile *Contradictions*, that could swallow *Covenants* and *Engagements* after the *Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy*, and all their Obligations to God and his Church, and knew how to make a *glorious King* by bringing him to the *Block*, and to *establish Religion* by *dividing* it, which our Saviour says is the readie way to *destroy* it: for *a Kingdom or house divided cannot stand*. If the men of *Rippon* had an apprehension of the mischiefs that in all probability would follow upon a *Bill of Exclusion*, I cannot see but

but their Fears were more reasonable than the groundless Jealousie of such as trouble themselves with what may never be; or if it should, is but a just judgment of God to punish those by some *Reboboam*, who were so malecontent with the pious and peaceable Governments of a *David* and *Solomon*. And I have often thought, that one reason why God set a *Julian* over the Christians of that Age, was, because in the times of *Constantine* and *Constantius* they degenerated into Heresies and Schisms, (such as the *Arians* and *Donatists*) and began to bite and devour one another. The Shepherds have generally observed, that when Sheep push and chase each other, it betokeneth an approaching Storm.

As to what you mind us of, p. 4, 5. That a *Popish Successor will be an heavie judgment of God, and ought to be deprecated by all good men*: As far as Prayers and Tears and other lawful endeavours may be employed, all good men will readily joyn with you: but if it shall please God for our wantonness and ungovernableness to lay that heavie Yoke upon us, it is in vain to resist, lest we be found to fight against God. I shall at present onely send you to a Heathen to learn better behaviour; *Quomodo sterilitatem aut nimios imbres, & cætera naturæ mala; ita luxum vel avaritiam dominantium tolerate, vitia erunt donec homines:*
sed

sed neque hæc continua, & meliorum interventu pensantur, i. e. As we endure scarcity or immoderate rain, and other natural evils; so ought we to bear with the luxury or avarice of our Rulers, for there will be faults as long as there are men: but neither are these still continued; the interchange of what is good, will make compensation for that which is evil: as *Tacitus* says.

Our Saviour would have us to live without distracting fear of those events which are not in our power to prevent, especially when our groundless fears may be the chief cause of drawing those evils on our selves. Few Rebellions were ever hatcht, but by the warmth of a pretended zeal for *Religion* and *Reformation*; and *Fears* and *Jealousies* (how groundless soever) have animated it, and given it growth and strength. *The panick fear of a change of Government*, (he means Arbitrary Government) *was the principal cause of the late War*, saith Mr. *Hunt* in his *Postscript*, p. 52. The noise of *Popery* to be brought in by the King and Archbishop *Laud*, who were *the Heads of the Grotian Papists*, (as Mr. *Baxter* says) was another: yet I hope neither Mr. *Hunt* nor our Author will warrant that Rebellion under their hands, upon such false and ungodly pretences, when they shall consider to what real evils these feigned Bugbears and Fancies did precipitate us.

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It is true, a *Popish Successor* will be an affliction to *sincere Protestants*, in respect of temporal accommodations, and spiritual advantages also; yet that evil may be improved to our eternal advantages, our Saviour having promised, that *great shall be their reward in heaven*, that are *reviled, persecuted, and slandered, for his sake*, Matth. 5. 11, 12. And St. Peter tells us, *If we suffer for well-doing, and take it patiently, this is acceptable with God*, 1 Pet. 2. 20. And if it be the Will of God it shall be so, we must learn of *David*, though in another case, *Psal. 39. 8. I was dumb and opened not my mouth, for it was thy doing.*

P. 5. You seem not satisfied with *Hippocrates* Receipt of *Citò, longè, tardè*, which preserved many Confessors in the days of Queen Mary, and is prescribed by a greater than *Hippocrates*, in this very case; *If they persecute you in one City, flee to another*, Matth. 10. 23. You are for *Fires and Fumes of Pitch and Tar, &c.* for *Imprisonment* and *close Confinement* even of *innocent persons*. The *Papists* indeed apply such *Cauticks* in cases of *Herésie, Apostacy, and Tyranny*; but I never read that the *Primitive Christians* used them against their Princes, not against *Dioclesian* a Tyrant, *Constantius* an Arian, or *Julian* an Apostate. Nay even the *Doctors of Rome* forbid such *Medicines*,

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cines, even in the case of *Tyranny*, without which the other two may not much hurt a sound Christian, till the Disease be *universalis manifesta*. & *cum obstinatione*, (i. e.) till after they find all other means ineffectual, and he is resolved to make a total overthrow of his People. Concerning which we are yet in the dark as to our own Case; and you give us some light to comfort us, when you say, p. 65. of *Julian's Persecution*, That it was *but a flea-biting, a short and weak assault of the Devil*; and that he was *rather a Tempter than a Persecutor*: which makes their behaviour towards him (if it were so barbarous as you represent it) the less excusable. Until a Plague be *epidemical and wasting*, it is not charitable nor just to *confinè suspected persons*; much less them that are *sound*, and to deal with them as persons destined to destruction, to bury them alive; and to make their own *Relations* instruments of these severities, who may justly fear the like are intended for *themselves*.

Though some intend onely to lop off a *degenerate Branch*, yet having got the Ax in their hand, others may make use of it to strike a blow at the *Root*; and (to answer your Parenthesis) *plain English is as well understood on this side Trent as the other*; so that there is more fear lest we should lose a *Protestant King* (as we have once already) than

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a *Popish Successor* : for though such an one may be deprecated as a Judgment, and may prove as a Plague to the Nation, yet may we not presently cut Throats to prevent what may never come, or if it should, make use of a Remedy worse than the Disease : for, *Rebellion is as the sin of Witchcraft*, 1 Sam. 15. 23.

That Remedy which you suppose may be effectual to prevent this mischief, will prove to be of that nature ; which is a Compound of *belying the Primitive Christians*, and *betraying Modern ones* into a sin of *Rebellion*, which may do more hurt (as Experience hath shewn us) than all the Arts and Witchcrafts of *Julian* : In writing of whose *Life*, you have not, I confess, *impoverished the Subject* (p.6.), for you have onely *weeded it*, as Mr. *Baxter* hath done the *Ecclesiastical History*, in his *Profane one* of the Bishops and Councils

P. 7. You say, you wrote this discourse onely to render that of *Julian's Succession intelligible*. It is a strange course you take to make his *Succession intelligible*, which you your self confess was from God by a legal descent , and most agreeable to the Laws of the Roman Empire, and yet seek to overthrow it: you had done more to your purpose, if you had shewn what *party of Christians* they were, and on what *grounds of Religion or Law* they went, what *Sedition or Armies* the Christians had

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had raised to oppose his Succession; of all which you give us not the least notice; you onely suppose, that if *Constantius* had known *Julian's* Religion before he was Emperour, he would have gotten a Bill of Exclusion; or if not, the Christians would have resisted him.

And from their behaviour towards him after he was Emperour, (which is scandalously represented, as is also the carriage of former Christians) you would reconcile the *Christian Religion* and *Rebellion*. This you have done intelligibly enough: but that the *Christians* did or would have resisted his Succession, I find no shew of Argument or Historie; onely you give us some *Rhetorical expressions* out of *St. Cyril's Invectives*, from which you infer more than the Premises will bear. And you do not report, as it becomes an Historian, but onely suggest, adde, and invent what may insnare your Readers. I ingenuously confess, I do not believe all that *St. Cyril* speaks in praise of *Constantius*, nor against *Julian*. *Panegyricks*, and *Stelliteuticks*, have not the authoritie of true *Histories*, with discerning men.

P. 7. You say your business is to shew how wide a difference there was betwixt the Case of Christians in *Julian's* time, and that of the first Christians; and make it as great as Laws for men and against men could possibly make it; yet you

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you confess that what you have written is *contrary to what is commonly reported of them, and to the carriage of former Christians*. It is then some such *New Light* as *Jo. Goodwin's Doctrine of Resistance*, that is your Guide: but you take no notice of the unalterable Laws of God, which bind all men in all Ages to be *subject to the Higher Powers* without distinction, *not only for fear of Wrath, but for Conscience sake*. There are few men that intend a *Rebellion*, but will pretend to have the Laws on their side; and if they may be Judges in their own Case, will as certainly *condemn the Legislator, as dispute his Laws*.

It were well if you would keep close to your Principle, *That the Laws of your Country are the Measures of your civil Obedience*. I am sure you want none to require your *active Obedience* to the just Laws of your Prince; nor your *passive Obedience*, if at any time you suffer wrongfully: And this is not injoyn'd by *Mahomet*, but by *Christ* himself; it is the Doctrine of the *Cross*, and not of the *Bow-string*. The violation of the Law on the Princes side, doth not discharge the Obligation of the Subjects; they are under a higher Law than that of the Land. The chief Magistrate's obliging himself to certain Rules for administration of his Government, is not the just Measure or chiefest Tye of the Subjects Obedience. The
eternal

eternal Laws of God and our Saviour, that require Obedience and Submission even to wicked Princes, and that *for Conscience sake*, and threatening *Resistance with Damnation*, is a safer Rule for the saving of our Souls, though not for the preservation of our Lives and Estates.

When St. *Peter* drew a Sword to defend his Master, in a way of resisting, and revenging him against the Officers of a lawful Magistrate, he was commanded to *put up his Sword*, and threatned, that *they that use the Sword should perish by the Sword*, Matth. 26. 52. And when some other Disciples would have his consent to *call for fire from heaven* to consume the Samaritans, he tells them, *they knew not what Spirit they were of*. The contrary Doctrines are not from the *blessed Jesus*, but the *accursed Jesuits*, and to be abhorred of all good Christians: and yet it is that which you chiefly track, and seek to bring into practice. St. *Aug.* speaking of St. *Peter's* using the Sword, and of *Moses* slaying the *Egyptian*, says, *lib. 22. chap. 7. Contra Faustum Manichæum; Uterque Justitiæ regulam excessit; & hic fraterno, ille Dominico amore peccavit.*

P. 8. You say, *It is impossible in so short a Treatise as yours is to say the tenth part of what is to be said, to shew how intolerable that Doctrine (of Passive Obedience) is, and how*
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contrary to the Gospel, and the Law of the Land. If you had not said the tenth part of what you have, to shew how intolerable the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* is, and that it is contrary to the Gospel and the Law of the Land, you had said too much, as will appear hereafter. Christianity indeed doth not enslave us, or devest us of the Rights and Priviledges that we have; but it teacheth us to exchange them for better. *Terrestria non eripit, qui regna dat Cœlestia.* And it assures us, that *he that loseth his life for Christs sake, shall save it,* Matth. 16. 25. Sedulius.

P. 8. To prove your Assertion from the Gospel, you commend your Reader to Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase on 1 Cor. 7. 21, 22, 23. which speaks little to your purpose; it concerns onely such Christians as were in bondage to heathen Masters. --- *That if they could by any fair and regular means attain their freedom, they might make use of them, and prefer Liberty before Servitude; which they might have done if they had never been Christians: And that they who have obtained Liberty, and were formerly Servants to Heathen, should not sell themselves again, and revert to that condition of slavery, but prefer Liberty rather.* But what is this to that Exposition which he gives us of Rom. 13. in these words? --- *Then for the Judicial Laws, that great Supreme one ought to*
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be taken into special care of all Christians, that of Obedience to the Supreme Powers rightly established and constituted, although they be not Jews but Romans. Nothing in Christianity ought to be pretended or made use of to give any man immunity from Obedience, which from all Subjects, of what quality soever, Apostles, Teachers, &c. is due to those to whom Allegiance belongs (contrary to the Gnosticks Doctrine and Practice, Jude 8.) but on the contrary, every person under government, of what Rank soever, is to yield subiection to his Supreme Governour legally placed in that Kingdom, as to him that hath commission from God, as every Supreme Magistrate must be resolved to have, though he be a Heathen. Verſ. 2. From which Divine Commission it is directly consequent, that he that makes any violent resistance or opposition to the Supreme Magistrate, opposeth that violence to Gods Commission, and shall accordingly receive that punishment which belongs to so sacrilegious a Contumacie; the wrath and judgment of God belongs to it. With more to that purpose.

As to St. Paul's dealing with the Centurion, Acts 22. 25. the Apostle neither spake nor acted any thing that tended to resistance; he onely asked the Centurion, Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned? In like manner, Acts 16. 39. Paul and Silas onely made the Officers sensible of their

their wrongful imprisonment. It is strange that any man that pretends to *Sense* or *Religion*, should wrest these places to the countenancing of *Resistance*, when the Doctrine which Christ and his Apostles taught and practised, and which we have received from this great Apostle of the Gentiles, is so opposite to it. *Maledicta Glossa quæ corrumpit Textum.* What consequence is this? St. Paul and Silas got their liberty by *pleading their Priviledges*; Therefore it is lawful to *resist*. It is against the yielding of *Passive Obedience* to the Supreme Magistrate, that you urge it.

P. 9. *As for the Laws of the Land, that Doctrine* (you say) *overthrows* Magna Charta, Chap. 29. That Chapter says thus: *No Freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold and Liberties, &c. but by lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land.* But if any or all these should happen to some particular man, will that justify a *Rebellion*? When a Roman Emperour gave a Senator a Sword, saying, *If I rule well, use it for me; if otherwise, against me*; was it intended think you by him that gave, or him that received it, that an Act of *Violence*, or a *High Court of Justice* should be employed against that Emperour upon every Transgression? (the Apostles rule of Submis-

sion *non obstante*). It is a sad return of Gratitude, when Christian Princes have granted the greatest Priviledges and Immunities to their Subjects, that they should on all occasions be requited with Affronts and Severities.

P. 9. and 10. You propose the Case of a Pursevant slain in the execution of a Warrant out of the High-Commission-Court; and then adde, *Any man may see that my Discourse doth not descend to such petty matters as false Arrests.* True: it is evident enough you flie at a more noble Game, the *resisting of Princes* and their *lawful Successors*. I pray ipeak out: When King CHARLES of blessed memory came to the House of Commons to demand Justice against the five Members, against whom he had *Articles of Treason* prepared, was it lawful for the Parliãment to make resistance, and to raise that War that cost so many thousand lives, and millions of money, on pretence of a *breach of their Priviledges*, rather than to deliver them up to a *legal Trial*? I doubt the man that killed the Pursevant did not well know whether his Authority were lawful or not; if he did, he might more safely have submitted, than drawn the blood of an unadvised man. But however, *Curat Lex*, let the Law have its course; and if by accident it be interrupted, or overflow its just bounds,

bounds, we may not for that cause dam up the *Fountain*.

P. 11. You say you have honestly pursued the end of our Saviours coming into the world, Luke 9. 56. *Not to destroy mens lives, but to save them.* But doubtless, whereas the *Meekness, Obedience, and Patience*, which the Gospel teacheth, hath destroyed one mans life, (and that our Saviour assures us is not *lost*, but *exchanged* for a better) the Doctrine of *Resistance* and *Rebellion* hath destroyed thousands. And you may see plainly by the Context, our Saviour commends *Passive Obedience*, and not *Resistance*, as the means to *preserve mens lives*. You rather pursue another end, which our Saviour mentions, not as a proper effect of his Gospel, but of the malice of men against it, *Matth. 10. 24. I came not to send peace, but a sword.*

You say, p. 11. That *the Laws of the Land have taken particular care of those who are put on an inevitable necessity of defending themselves, &c.* How far a man that is assaulted, and put on an inevitable necessity of defending himself against the injuries of private men, is one thing; and what he may do against his Prince, (of whom you seem to discourse) is another: In this case we may apply that in *Rev. 13. 10. He that killeth with the sword, shall be killed with the sword.* This is the pa-

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rience and faith of the Saints.

P. II. *This Doctrine (of Passive Obedience) you say, quite alters the Oath of Allegiance, which requires you to be obedient to all the Kings Majesties Laws, Precepts, and Process proceeding from the same. I do not find those words in that Oath, as set forth by King James; but I find what you overlook (viz.) I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majestie, his Heirs and Successors, and him and them will defend to the utmost of my power, against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever. And this I find more particularly in a Declaration (which I believe our Author hath subscribed) thus amplified: I do declare, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King: And that I do abhor that traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him*

P. III. *After a large Preface little to your purpose, telling us, That the Church of England reserves her Faith entire for the Canonical books of Scripture (which I hope you also do,) and that she divides her Reverence between the Fathers and the first Reformers of this Church, who partly were Martyrs that died for the Protestant Religion, and partly Confessors that afterward settled it. (And now to the business.)*

How

How much the Fathers would have been for a Bill of Exclusion (you say) we have seen already. No, not one word of it from the beginning, nor I believe any mention of it from one Argument tending to it to the end of the Book, from any of the Fathers, as will shortly appear. But what say our Martyrs, Confessors, and Reformers? First he tells us what some men would have perswaded King Edward to do, if they could have had their wills confirmed by Act of Parliament: They shewed what they would have done if they could, saith our Author: They never spake such bad English as our Author doth in his Taunton-Dean Proverb, Chud eat more Cheese an chad it; which being interpreted, is, We would rebel if we had power. The Duke of Northumberland indeed did cause the Lady Jane Gray's Title to be proclaimed, but here the Bishops must be the men that were chiefly engaged in that designe of Exclusion: whereas I read not that any of them were ever consulted with, nor ever declared any thing to that purpose; but in their joynt and most solemn Writings enjoin the clean contrary, as shall now appear.

P. 12. The Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's time, to whom, under God and that Queen, we owe the settlement of our Church, concurred to the making of that Statute which makes it High-

Treason in her Reign, and forfeiture of Goods and Chattels ever after, in any wise to hold or affirm, That an Act of Parliament is not of sufficient force and validity to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, and the descent, limitation, inheritance, and government thereof, 13 Eliz. chap. 1. But our Author never considered the grounds and reasons of that Act; *Ex malis moribus bonæ Leges*; it was the iniquity of those times, and the traiterous practices of the Queen of Scots, which gave occasion to that Statute: for there were many Pamphlets written by *Saunders* and the Author of *Doleman*, which deni'd the Title of Queen *Elizabeth*, and proclaim'd her an Usurper; and the Queen of Scots made actual claim to the Crown of *England*; she assumed the Arms of *England* and other *Regalia*; and by her Confederates endeavoured to raise a Rebellion, and conspired against the life of the Queen; for which causes she was condemned, as may appear by her Sentence which was passed upon her, *viz. That divers things were compassed and imagined within this Kingdom of England with the privity of the said Queen, who pretended a Title to the Crown of this Kingdom. and which tended to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Royal Person of our Sovereign Queen.* *Cambdens Eliz. p. 464. (Leiden 1625.)* Such practices gave occasion to that Statute, to prevent

prevent the Mischiefs that might befall Queen Elizabeth and the Nation. And that Statute consists of many heads: As first, **Whoever** should compass, imagine, devise, or intend the death or destruction, or any bodily harm tending to death, destruction, or wounding of the Royal person of the Queen, or deprive or depose her of or from the Stile, Honour, or Kingly name of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, &c. or levy War against her Majesty within this Kingdom or without, or move any Strangers to invade this Kingdom or Ireland, &c. or shall maliciously publish and declare, by any printing, writing, word, or sayings, that our Sovereign Lady during her life is not, or ought not to be Queen of this Realm, &c. or that any other person or persons ought of right to be King or Queen of the same; or that our said Queen is a Heretick or Schismatick, Tyrant, Infidel, or an Usurper of the said Crown, &c. these shall be guilty of High-Treason. Also if any after thirty days from the Session of this Parliament, and in the life of our said Queen, shall claim, pretend, declare, or publish themselves or any other besides our said Queen to have Right or Title to have and enjoy the Crown of England, or shall usurp the same. or the Royal Stile, Title, or Dignity of the Crown, or shall affirm that our said Queen hath not right to hold and enjoy the same; such shall be utterly disabled during

ring their natural lives onely, to have or enjoy the Crown or Realm of England in Succession, Inheritance, or otherwise. Then follows the Case of Succession: That if any person shall hold or affirm, that the Common Laws of this Realm, not altered by Parliament, ought not to direct the Right of this Crown, or that our said Queen by the Authority of Parliament is not able to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient force, &c. as above.

Yet was not the Queen of Scots condemned upon the Statute of the 13 of *Eliz.* but on that made in the 27 of her Reign; wherein it was provided, That twenty four persons at least, part being of the Privy Council, and the rest Peers of the Realm, should by the Queens Commission examine such as should make any open Rebellion or Invasion of this Realm, or attempt to hurt the Queens person, by or for any pretended Title to the Crown. In which Commission I find no Bishop save the Archbishop, who at first refused to act: nor when the whole Parliament petitioned for the Execution, do we find that the Bishops (who were denied to vote in case of Blood) did joyn or were consulted with. And *Cambden* observes, that the same day when the Sentence was pronounc'd against the Queen of Scots, it was declared by the Delegates and Judges of the Kingdom, *That that Sentence should derogate nothing*

nothing from the Right or Honour of James King of Scots; but that he should be in the same Estate, Order, and Right, as if that Sentence had never been given, p. 465. So that the whole matter being considered, here was no Exclusion of a *Popish Successour*, but rather a tacit confirmation of one that was a *Protestant*; and consequently, it must be a great slander on those worthy Bishops by him named, that they were zealous for such Acts of Exclusion: for the business of the Queen of Scots did concern matters of Treason, such as you say might exclude her out of the World; as also the Reasons of Sir *Simon d'Ewes* tended to the taking away of her life; and therefore come not home to the Case of Succession: nor does Sir *Simon* tell us *whose Reasons* they were; and I suspect them to be the Opinions of some private person, who having spoken all-along in the plural number, he discovereth himself at the end in these words; *God I trust in time shall open her Majesties eyes to see their cruel purposes, &c.*

P. 18. You say (what another hath said before you) That a *Bill of Exclusion* is a perfect Courtship to these Reasons. True, if the *Heir apparent* or *presumptive* were under the same circumstance with that Queen: but 'tis perfect Cruelty to endeavour the like Exclusion of a *Popish Successour*, as such onely, not onely

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only from his *Right*, but out of his *Life*. 'And now no man else needs *turn his fury or reproaches upon those Bishops* ; you have done that sufficiently.

As for your Protestation, *p. 19.* that if but one Reason can be given to prove a Bill of Exclusion to be unlawful, which will be owned to be a Reason a week after, and the owners not be ashamed, you do solemnly promise to joyn in renouncing those Old Reformers, and readily follow their New Guides and Lights. The Apostle gives you a Reason which is of eternal verity, *viz. We may not do evil that good may come of it* : And he assures you, that the condemnation of such as affirm the contrary is just, *Rom. 3. 8.* And to any but an *Ignoramus*, that of *Dan. 4. 25.* may serve as another Reason ; The most High ruleth in the Kingdom of men, and giveth it to whom he will. To which adde, *If it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest ye be found to fight against God, Acts 4. 39.* And for your renouncing the Old Reformers, you have done that with the utmost spite and reproach that all the Wit of a *Julian* or the Malice of a *Colledge of Jesuits* could invent, as if they had been the Judges and Executioners of the Queen of Scots under the Notion of a *Popish Successor*. Wherefore I would advise our Author to consider what occasion he hath given to the Enemies of that Church (where-
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of I suppose him a *Member*, if not a *Priest*) to *reproach* her: for from this Story of his, no doubt it was, that the scurrilous and Bedlam-Author of the Pamphlet called *Crape-Gownorum* hath thus commented: *It is plain that the Church of England-men did hold King-killing, or Queen-killing Doctrine, (which is the same thing) ; so that if Knox, Buchanan, or Calvin first taught the Speculative part, the other (meaning those Bishops named by our Author) first put it in practice, and set the fatal president that others followed, (that is), in the murder of King Charles the first ; for at that he aims, when he threatneth us to let 641 sleep in Oblivion, lest we awake 587.* intimating, that what was done in the process of that War, (*viz.* that barbarous Murther perpetrated on the Royal Person of *Charles the First*) may be *justified on the Principles of our Reformers*. Whatever may be *told in Gath, and published in the streets of Ascalon*, to make *those Philistims rejoyce* ; I cannot permit this diabolical *Slander* to pass without a brand on the *Author* of it here at home; and to vindicate those *Worthies*, and silence our *Adversaries* the *Jesuits*, and to prevent the ill consequences of this *Forgery*, which may stir up the *Phanaticks* of this Nation to act over our former *Tragedies*.

I shall first relate the matter of fact, and
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the grounds of that *Severity* which was used against that Queen; and shew you the *most deliberate Judgment* of those *Reverend Bishops* in the Case of *Resisting lawful Authority*.

First, As to the matter of fact, it is beyond denial, that the Queen of *Scots* married the Lord *Darby* a Subject to the Crown of *England*, who being slain; (whether by her consent, or not, I will not determine, but) she was questioned by her Subjects for *incontinent living*, the *death of her Husband*, and for *Tyranny*; and was forced to resigne her Crown to her Son, then about thirteen months old; so that she was no longer a Crowned head. After which, she raiseth an Army, and is defeated by *Muray*; and being imprisoned, makes an escape into *England*, where a Council was called to consult how to dispose of her. It was resolved, that to let her pass into *France*, might prove dangerous; and worse to send her back to *Scotland*: And to prevent farther mischief, she should not be dismissed from *England* till she had made satisfaction for the death of her Husband a Subject and Peer of *England*, and for usurping the Arms of *England*, and pretending a Title to the Crown. During her restraint here, she contrives many Plots against the Peace of the Nation; both with *France* by the Duke of *Guise*, and *D'Alva* Governour of the *Netherlands*;
and

and at home, by the Dukes of *Northumberland* (to whom she promised marriage) and *Westmoreland*, who raised a Rebellion in the North for her Rescue: both which suffered, the first was beheaded, the last died in Exile. By her instigation a Bull was sent from *Rome*, discharging the Subjects of *England* from their Obedience to the Queen. Then follows the Conspiracy of *Tho.* and *Edw. Stanly*, Sons to the Earl of *Darby*. Several Invasions were also made in *Ireland*, to disturb that Kingdom, by the joynt Counsels of the King of *Spain* and Pope *Gregory* the 13th, and a swarm of *Jesuits* are sent into *England*, and contrive with *Throgmorton*, *Paget*, and others, for another Insurrection; which was prevented. The Nobles and Gentry seeing no hopes of Peace through such daily practices, entered into an *Association* to prosecute all those even to death that should attempt any thing against the Queen; and prevailed for a closer restraint of her: which notwithstanding, one *Babington* conveyed Letters between *Her* and *France*, and engaged divers to murder the Queen; which was discovered to Secretary *Walsingham*, as also the manner how the Queen of *Scots* conveyed Letters to the *Spanish Ambassador*, and other *Confederates*: whereupon fourteen of them were executed; and in the Parliament convened about that time, *Throg-*
morton,

morton, the two *Pagets*, *Englefield*, *Babington*, *Salisbury*, &c. were proscribed. So that the Nation being continually alarmed with the news of *Invasions*, *Insurrections*, and *Conspiracies*, during the life of that unfortunate Queen, who can blame the Parliament for soliciting the execution of a *Just Sentence*?

Of all men living, our Author ought not to object it, much less to charge the *Bishops* with that (if they had been guilty) for which they are ready now to pronounce them *Papists*, as not consenting to the Exclusion of a *Popish Successor*.

But secondly, what the Judgment of those *Reformers* was concerning the Doctrine of *Resisting lawful Princes* on any pretence, I shall now demonstrate.

P. 103, 104. of his Book, our Author is pleased to recommend the *Homilies of our Church* to every bodies reading, as one of the best Books that he knows in the world, next to the Bible, (as Mr. *Hunt* had done before him). I shall therefore intreat him to judge of the Opinion of our *Reformers* and *Confessors* in point of *Obedience*, out of the publick Doctrines set forth by them in that excellent Book. In the first Homily against *Disobedience and wilful Rebellion*, they say, p. 277. If *Servants* ought to obey their *Masters* not onely being gentle, but such as be froward, much more ought

ought Subjects to be obedient not onely to their good and courteous, but also to their sharp and rigorous Princes, 1 Pet. 2. 18. And p. 278. It cometh not of Chance or Fortune, nor of the Ambition of Mortal men climbing up of their own accord to Dominion, that there be Kings, Queens, Princes, and other Governours over men being their Subjects; but all Kings, Queens, and other Governours, are specially appointed by the Ordinance of God. P. 279. A Rebel is worse than the worst Prince, and Rebellion worse than the worst Government of the worst Prince that hitherto hath been.-----Whatsoever the Prince be, or his Government, it is evident that for the most part those Princes whom some Subjects do think to be very godly, and under whose Government they rejoyce to live, some other Subjects do take the same to be evil and ungodly, and do wish for a Change. If therefore all Subjects that mislike of their Prince should rebel, no Realm should ever be without Rebellion. P. 280. But what if a Prince be evil indeed, and indiscreet, and it is evident to all mens eyes that he is so? I ask again, What if it be long of the wickedness of his Subjects that he is so, shall the Subjects by their wickedness both provoke God for their deserved punishment to give them an evil and indiscreet Prince, and also rebel against him, and withal against God, who for the pu-

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nishment of their sins did give them such a Prince? Will you hear the Scripture in this point? God maketh a wicked man to reign, for the sins of the people. Again, God giveth a Prince in his anger, meaning an evil one, and taketh away a Prince in his displeasure, meaning when he taketh away a good Prince for the sins of the people: as in our memory he took away our good Josias King Edward, for our wickedness. Again, God maketh a wife and good King to reign over that people whom he loveth, and who love him. And again, If the people obey God, both they and their King shall prosper.---And for Subjects to deserve through their sins to have an evil Prince, and then to rebel against him, were double and treble evil, by provoking God more to plague them: let us either deserve to have a good Prince, or let us patiently suffer and obey such as we deserve: and whether the Prince be good or evil, let us according to the Scriptures pray for him for his continuance and increase in goodness if he be good, and for his amendment if he be evil.

The Bishops that were their Predecessors, and our first Reformers in the days of King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth, were of the same judgment, as appears in a Book called *The Institution of a Christian man*, whereof Cranmer, Ridley, and other Martyrs were

were the Compilers. On the Fifth Commandment they say, *Subjects be bound not to withdraw their Fealty, Truth, Love, and Obedience towards their Prince, FOR ANT CAUSE WHATSOEVER*; ne for any Cause may they conspire against his Person, ne do any thing towards the hindrance or hurt thereof. nor of his Estate. And by this Commandment they be bound to obey all the Laws, Proclamations, Precepts, and Commandments made by their Princes, except they be contrary to the Commandments of God: With much more to that purpose. And on the Sixth Commandment, *No Subjects may draw their Swords against their Princes, FOR ANT CAUSE WHATSOEVER IT BE.* --- And though Princes, which be the Supreme Heads of their Realms. do otherwise than they ought; yet God hath assigned no Judges over them in this world. The contrary to this is a Popish Doctrine, who think it cause enough to depose a King, because he is a *Protestant*: and it is a Lesson which some sorts of Protestants have learnt from them, to depose any that is a *Papist*. A Doctrine which all the *Reformed Churches* have hitherto condemned: and yet this is the Sophistry which our Author hath detected, to his own shame, and the honour of those *Worthies* whom he hath reproached: and if our Author's *Politicks* should be em-

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braced, Kings would be of all men most miserable: for if they be *Protestants*, the *Papists* may *depose* them; and if they be *Papists*, *Protestants* may *resist* them; which is *tantamount*.

P. 19. Is a discourse against the Oath of Allegiance, which he forms in an *Objection* and *Answer*. The *Objection* is this: *You are pre-engaged, and cannot consent to a Bill of Exclusion; if you do, you are forsworn, having long since sworn Allegiance to the King, his lawful Heirs and Successors.* His *Answer*: *Now though the Lawyers tell us an hundred times, no man can have an Heir as long as he liveth, yet this will not overcome that deceitful prejudice which is occasioned by our common speech.* *Reply.* Yet our Author presently adds, *That a man and his Heirs may live at once in the same house, and eat and drink together every day.* I pretend not to the knowledge of *Law-terms*; yet I am confident those Lawyers which penned that Oath did not put it in in vain; nor would they make it *Treason to conspire the death of the Heir of the Crown of England*, if there could be no such person in being. One clause of that Oath is this: *I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and him and them will defend to the utmost of my power, against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever which shall*

shall be made against his or their persons, their Crown or Dignity, by reason or colour of any such Sentence or Declaration, or otherwise : and will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majestie, his Heirs and Successors, all Treasons and treacherous Conspiracies which I shall know or hear of to be against him or any of them. And I do farther swear, That I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable Doctrine and Position, that Princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects or any other whatsoever. — And all these things I plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any Equivocation, or mental Evasion, or secret Reservation whatsoever, &c. Now let any man judge whether you have not taught the Jesuits themselves how to equivocate, and to make void that solemn Oath, by affirming that there can be no such person as an Heir to the Crown while the King is living.

Your own distinction of an *Heir Apparent* and *Presumptive*, seems a sufficient Confutation of your senseless Assertion. Besides, though it may be true of a *Testamentary Heir*, that he is not actually so till the death of the Testator ; yet a *Legal Heir*, upon whom an

Estate is intailed, as the Royal Crown of *England* is upon the next in Blood, is truly an Heir, and ought to inherit. And in this Opinion I am confirmed by the Apostle, *Gal. 4. 1.* who says, *That though the Heir as long as he is a child, (i.e. as long as his Father liveth) differeth nothing from a servant, yet he is Lord of all :* and if he be a *Son*, or next in Blood to a Prince whose Kingdom is hereditary, then is he his *Heir*, v. 7. as *St. Paul* argues.

You seem to grant, that this is *the Law-sence* of the words *Heirs and Successors* in an Act of Parliament, as in the *Duty of Excise granted to the King, his Heirs, and Successors ; But an Oath of Allegiance* (you say) *ought to be conceived in plain words, and in the common sence of those words.* Which I should think to be that which the Lawyers that penned that Oath, and the Lawgivers that enjoined it, did intend ; and unless you will justify *Papists* in their *Equivocations*, and *absolve* them from the obligation of that Oath, it cannot be taken in any other but the *Law-sence.* *Well, (say you) if it be so, (and so it must be) let them be sure to keep it in that sence in which they have or should take it at sixteen years of age in the Court-Leet ; viz. I will be true Liegeman, and true faith and troth bear to our Sovereign Lord the King that now is, and to*
his

his Highness Heirs and lawful Successours. Kings and Queens of this Realm of *England*. To which you add this *pitiful and worse than Jesuitical Evasion*: *It is plain to every body, that no one certain or known person in the world hath any interest at present in the Oath of Allegiance besides his Majesty that now is.* For which you give this as a Reason, which is none at all: *For who shall be King or Queen of England hereafter, none but God himself knows.* And if God, by whom Kings reign, had not wonderfully restored his Majesty, we should have had none at this time. But God by a Miracle hath restored the right Heir against all opposition.

Pag. 21. He brings in another Objection against the Bill of Exclusion, *fetch'd from the Common-Prayer* (to which I perceive he is no great Friend): viz. *No Church of-England-man can be for it with a good Conscience, being to the prejudice of his R. H. because we there pray that God would prosper him with all happiness here and hereafter.* Now by the way, no such words (as *here and hereafter*) are expressed, though we grant they are implied under the word *All*. But we especially (though not onely) intend it to that happiness which flows from the Spirit and grace of God, and may bring him and all the Royal Family to Gods everlasting Kingdom; and as a means

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thereunto, that he would *endue them with his holy Spirit, and enrich them with his heavenly Grace.* You say, *No man in the Communion of the Church of England prays that Prayer more heartily than you do.* But if you do indeed think him to be a *Julian*, and your self such as those Christians that *said their Prayers backward*, that *prayed him to death*, and would not so much as *desire his conversion*, this would certainly be a Curse in the mouth or heart of any Protestant. And I hope there are no such in the Communion of our Church, though you intimate that they were *all such* in the Primitive Church, and that we should be such also: for p. 96. you say, *You find not one single wish among the Antients for Julian's conversion, but all for his down-right destruction.* It is a good Rule that, *Pro quibus orandum, pro iis laborandum.* We should by a meek and Christian behaviour, inforce our Devotions: for 'tis *the Prayer of the Righteous man that availeth much.* If we could thorowly inspect the Arguments that prevailed for the reputed defection of that Prince, I believe the unchristian behaviour of those who oppose his Succession, was most cogent. And who knows but our amendment, moderation, and meekness, might yet reclaim him? But to pray coldly without faith, for what you say (p. 22.) there is *no hope*, and to act contrary to
your

your Prayers, is to beg a denial. And I hope many others pray more heartily than you do : For when we pray God to *indue him with his Holy Spirit*, &c. we pray that he may return to the *Protestant Religion*, and not that he may be exposed to an *invincible Temptation*, and a kind of *necessity to extirpate it*, as you maliciously accuse us. Nor are we to distrust the power of divine Grace either to *restrain* or *sanctifie* those whom we pray for ; and so to limit the Holy One of *Israel*, as if he had not *the hearts of Kings in his hand*, or had no rule over the Governours of the world. *Cambden*, p. 5. of his *Remains*, reports, that when *Brithwald* the Monk was troubled about the Succession, the Bloud Royal being almost extinguished, he heard a voice saying, *The Kingdom of England is Gods Kingdom, and God will provide for it*. And why should not we acquiesce in the same Divine Providence ?

P. 79. You argue against a Popish Successor *à possibili*, because *he may be a Persecutor*. Some have accounted both our present Sovereign and his Father of blessed memory such : they sent the One out of the world with an *Exit Tyrannus*, though the meekest and most gracious Prince in the world ; and what the effects of a *Bill of Exclusion*, as some men would manage it, may be, is dreadful to consider.

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sider. But as you suppose the *Popish Successour* may be; so I suppose he *may not* be a Persecutor. And for the proof of this, I appeal to your Friend *Plato Redivivus*, who in p. 207. gives an instance in the Prince of *Hanover*, who was perverted to the *Roman Church*, went to *Rome* to abjure *Herésie*; and returning home, lived and governed as he did before, without the least animosity of his Subjects for his *change*, or any endeavour to introduce any to his *Government* or *People*; and dying the last Spring, left the peaceable and undisturbed Rule of his Subjects to the next Successour his Brother the Bishop of *Osnaburg*, who is a Protestant. Now (as *Solomon* says) *there is no new thing under the Sun*, but *what hath been may be*; and if we do our duties, we may be the more confident of the success of our Prayers, That God will *endue the Royal Family with his Holy Spirit, &c.* You do very naughtily therefore to represent the case as *impossible* and *desperate*, as if God himself could not or would not order this great affair for the good of his People. I am almost persuaded, that the sins of the Nation to which this clamour against *Succession* hath given occasion, by planting in the hearts of too many, malice, bitter enmity, revilings, and even abhorrence of one another, is a greater evil than we are yet like to suffer from a *Popish Successor*.
And

And did we think he might prove to be *such a one* as he is (too boldly) represented, we do very ill to exasperate and imbitter his Spirit, by such Libels, Slanders, and such unlawful Contrivances as in all probability made *Julian* worse than he would have been. I therefore heartily wish that you had spared that *Grinning Complement* (to use your term, which you borrowed from *Dr. Howel* in his life of *Julian*) *That if it stand with his H.'s good liking, he would enjoy that Religion to the greatest advantage, and take his fill of it at the Fountain-head.* I shall rather pray he may never go thither : There are too many Crowned heads at the devotion of his Holiness already. Such Complementers I am sure do not pray heartily that God would prosper him with all happiness here and hereafter. What ? to perswade him to cast himself down over some precipice, as *Curtis* did, p. 19. of the *Character of a Popish Successour* ? or like that mentioned by our Author to be presented to *Cromwel*, p. 87. that *to kill himself is no Murder* ? If it be out of the abundance of the heart that the mouth speaketh, none but men of murderous intentions will so speak.

P. 22. You are *thoroughly satisfied* (you say) that the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy are Protestant Oaths (as a great Assertor of our Religion and Laws (now with God) thought fit

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fit to term them). Sir W. J. I confess, was a good Lawyer, but how he could call them *Prote-*

stant Oaths I know not. * The Oath of Allegiance was long before the name of *Protestants* came up; King *James* onely enlarged it, and appointed it to be taken of all in Court-

* See L. Cooks Reports N. 7. fol. 6. and fol. 7. in *Calvins* Case. And his Institutes Sect. 94. and 259.

Leets at Sixteen Years of age, as you have observed. Nor is there any new thing at all in that Oath, more than what all Protestant Princes do generally require of their Subjects. And as for that of *Supremacie*, it is one of the ancient *Regalia* of the Kings of *England*, which our Parliaments still defended against the encroachments of the Pope; so that the thing was in being long before King *Henry* the Eighth brought it into a form: and he was yet a *Popish Prince* when he did it. And I have read, that Queen *Mary* herself would hardly part with the acknowledgement of her *Supremacie*. It is not peculiar then to Protestants; or if it were, I am afraid that some who term themselves the *true Protestants* would be found no great Friends to it: For there are many other Sects, as well as the Anabaptists, who are now called *sound Protestants*, refuse it: And the late Sanctions were intended equally against them all. I agree with you, that we are all bound by them

them to endeavour in our place to *keep out Poperie* ; but not by *Rebellion*, and the bringing in of *Confusion*.

As to what you say of *twisting a Popish Interest with these Oaths*, as Julian endeavoured to *entangle the Christians*. There are matters more pertinent , and more fully related by St. *Gregory Nazianzene* than by you—— “ There
“ was (saith he) an Anniversarie-day where-
“ in the Emperour bestowed Donatives of
“ Gold on his Souldiers , when at the same
“ time he had provided Fire , Frankincense,
“ and several persons to perswade the Soul-
“ diers to kindle the Incense, as an ancient Rite,
“ and more becoming the Imperial Dignity.
“ By such arts and perswasions, many of the
“ inconsiderate Souldiers were circumvented,
“ and kindled the Frankincense : but, at their
“ return and feasting together , they drank
“ to each other, and with Eyes lifted up, and
“ using the Sign of the Cross, they made men-
“ tion of Christ. Whereupon one of their
“ Companie said, *What strange thing is this !*
“ *Do ye call on Christ after you have denied*
“ *him ?* At which they being astonished, said,
“ *How have we denied him ? what is your mea-*
“ *ning ?* He answered, *By throwing Frankin-*
“ *cense into the Fire, which is a denial of Christ.*
“ Whereat leaping up speedily from their
“ Feast, they ran forth as so many distracted
“ men

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“ men into the Market-place, proclaiming, *We*
 “ *are Christians, we are Christians in our hearts.*
 “ *Let all men hear us, and God above all, to whom*
 “ *we live, and to whom we will die We have not*
 “ *broken our Covenant with thee, O Christ our Sa-*
 “ *viour, nor abjured our blessed Profession. If our*
 “ *Hands have offended, our Minds are not guilty,*
 “ *It was not the Gold, but the Emperour's fraud*
 “ *that circumvented us : We have put off im-*
 “ *piety, having been purged in blood Then*
 “ *hasting to the Emperour, and with great*
 “ *resolution casting their Gold at his Feet,*
 “ *said, We have not receiv'd a Donary, O Empe-*
 “ *rou, but a Condemnation : You called us not to*
 “ *receive marks of Honour, but a brand of Igno-*
 “ *miny : Let your Souldiers receive such Lar-*
 “ *gesses ; slay and sacrifice us to Christ, to whose*
 “ *Empire onely we submit our selves. Revenge*
 “ *one fire with another, and reduce us to dust*
 “ *for the dust that we have cast into the fire :*
 “ *Cut off those hands which we have unhappily*
 “ *stretched out, and those Feet that carried us*
 “ *to it. Give your Gold to such as may not re-*
 “ *pent the receiving it : Christ alone sufficeth us,*
 “ *whom we value above all things. Having*
 “ *said thus, and informing others of the fraud,*
 “ *and exhorted them to recover themselves*
 “ *out of this snare, and satisfie Christ even*
 “ *with their Blood : The Emperour, though*
 “ *highly provoked, would not make a pub-*
 “ *lick*

“lick slaughter of them, who as much as in
“them lay were desirous of it ; he comman-
“ded them to be banished. Methinks here
is much of the resolution of the *Thebean*
Legion, who voluntarily offered themselves
to death, rather than have the guilt of kind-
ling Incense, though without any evil inten-
tion, at the command of the Emperour. From
whence I gather, that these *Heroick Chri-*
stians thought themselves under the same ob-
ligation in *Julian's* time, as the *Thebæans* did
in that of *Maximian*. Which is your *great*
such an *error* in your foundation, as we shall
see to enfeeble the whole Fabrick. And here
you may be instructed what you ought to
say and do, *when a Prince* (as you phrase it)
shall put a border of Popery about his Picture,
which you would fain honour ; namely, as these
noble Confessors did ; *We reverence your Per-*
son and Authoritie ; we will fight your Battles,
and follow your Commands ; but if you will
draw us to Idolatry, (though by the Laws we
might resist) we will rather die at your Feet
than do either. This is the *Faith and Pati-*
ence of those exemplarie Souldiers : and this
may serve also to free you from those affli-
cting thoughts which had almost made you
to forget a *passage of great consequence which*
riseth up against all that you have said, deliver-
ed by *St. Augustine* on *Plal. 124.* to this effect :

That

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That the Christian Souldiers served under this Heathen Emperour ; and where their Religion was not concerned , made conscience of obeying him ; but where it came to the Cause of Christ , there they made as much conscience of disobeying him. True, they would not obey him, but neither would they rise up against him, though (as you take for granted) they had the Law on their side. They would lose their Lives rather than offend God , or rebel against their Emperour : which is the very thing that St. Augustin perswades , having shewn that Servants must obey their troward Masters : Quod de domino ac servo dixi , hoc de Regibus intelligite ; commending Julians Souldiers , who for the sake of their Master in Heaven , did serve their Earthly master.

P. 26. You would have the Reader take notice, that the whole Contest between Julian and those Christians was purely on the score of Religion, and not from any lawless and ungovernable humour. And certainly such lawless and ungovernable humours as you mention, did no way become the Christian Religion : for that instructs us to practice meekness and forbearance ; not to avenge our selves, but to give place to wrath ; not to speak evil of Dignities, or curse the Rulers of the people. Whereas you present them under such a black Character, as would make
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some believe that *they* were the *Apostates* and *Persecutors*, and not *Julian*. They are almost your own words, *p.* 66. "For how do
"they treat the Emperour, reproaching him,
"ruffling him, vexing every Vein in his Roy-
"al Heart, saying all their Prayers backward,
"and calling down vengeance upon his head--
"dancing and leaping for joy at his death,
"and insulting over his Memory; and but
"for the name of Christians, he had better
"fallen among Barbarians: and when he of-
"ten put them in mind of their Christia-
"nitie-- they call him by the bloudest names
"of the Devil, for telling them they must
"not avenge themselves, nor render evil for
"evil, but pray for and wish well to those
"that injure and persecute them: and tell
"him he must not think to drive all men up
"to the top and Pinnacle of Virtue; for there
"are several Commands in the Gospel which
"are no more than Counsels of perfection,
"which bring Honour and Reward to them
"that keep them; but to those that do not
"keep them, no manner of danger at all. *Pu-*
det hæc Opprobria, &c. I am sorry to hear
that distinction applied to the practice of those
Vertues which do more especially discrimi-
nate Christians, and shew them to be of a
more *excellent spirit* than other men: For
we need such graces as these in our daily con-
E versation;

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versation; and *what do we more than others, if we onely be kind and loving to them that are so to us?* Yet this distinction of *Counsels* and *Precepts* will be but a sorry excuse for such as neglect those Duties enjoyned *Matth. 5.44. &c.* If these and such-like are *Counsels*, and we may do as the *Julian Christians* are said to do, the design of the Gospel is quite another thing than what all the learned and serious professors of it in all Ages have believed and practised: *Non tali auxilio aut defensoribus istis Christus egit.* I have heard of some that have turned the Gospel into *Burlesque*; but it is more strange, that one whom I suppose a *Minister of the Gospel* should make the grand design of it *Ridicule*.

P. 26. As for the *Souldiers fighting under Julian against the Persians or any common enemy, and obeying the word of Command, when they received his Pay; it is such a low part of Honesty, that our Author would have done it himself, for his Pay.* But he that would have fought for *Julian*, will scarce sit down quiet under a *Popish Prince*, which he thinks to be ten times worse than a *Julian*; and probably would rejoyce as much at such a *slippery trick* as was shewed to *Julian* in *Persia*, as (he saies) those Christians did that lived under him. For why are these things *propounded* and *applauded*, but to commend them as examples to the
present

present Generation? But I hope we shall not have many such *Reformato's*.

You say, p. 26. *Every body knows how the Church was rent in sunder by Arianism; And there might be too much stiffness and rigidity on the other hand about words, for ought I know: but miserably rent it was; which gave great advantage to Julian against the Christian Religion.* I know not what our Author means in excusing the *Arians*, and charging the *Orthodox* with too much stiffness. What more dangerous Errour could there be, than to oppose the *Deity of Christ*, and deny the *Lord that bought them?* In such a Case, and when almost the whole world was turned *Arian*, the *Orthodox* could not be too stout and resolute: and if there were so good an Effect of a bad Cause, as the *Union of Christians*, under *Julian*; I wish our fears of what you call a greater evil might have the like effect on us, whose Divisions have not so great a cause as abjuring the *Deity of our Saviour* was. And he that shall extenuate that cause of dissention, as if inconsiderable, and but a *mistake about words*, as our Author (after *Mr. Baxter*) hath done, and yet aggravate the grounds of Division among our selves, as if the *Scrupulosity* which the *Dissenters* so pertinaciously defend, were (as *Mr. Hunt* saies) *from God*, hath quite out-run the *Men of Rippon* for Contradictions

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dition: Zeal like another Satyr, he can blow hot and cold; he is extremely hot in *Punctilio's*, and as cold in *Fundamentals*; he serves some other Interest than that of *Peace, Truth, or Piety*.

P. 27. Now what did the Christians do? Did the Orthodox go and side with Julian, to revenge the injuries which they received from the Arians in Constantius's time? or make use of Julian's favour which he shewed in restoring them, to crush their brethren which dissented from them? No, there was no seeking to him by either side: Only the Donatists of Africk complemented him, and received some small favour from him. The design of Julian's recalling the Orthodox Bishops was, as Ecclesiastical Historians affirm, either to cast an Odium on *Constantius*, who had banished them; or to dash them and the *Arians* and *Donatists* against each other,

* *Eo modo nomen Christi de terris perire putavit, si Sacrilegas dissensiones liberasset permisset.* St. Aug. Epist. 166.

thereby to * ruine both; or at least that they might not find any opportunity of disturbing him, being wholly imployed in the destruction of one another. Two or three things I shall briefly demonstrate, on occasion of this Paragraph.

1. That the *Donatists* and *Arians* were united among themselves against the Orthodox. 2. That they courted *Julian's* favour

to

to strengthen their Faction against the Orthodox. And 3. They did commit greater outrages where they had power, than *Julian* himself.

As to the first, *Donatus* himself wrote a book *de Spiritu Sancto*, agreeable to the Doctrine of *Arius*, as *St. Hierome* hath observed: the *Macedonians* also, who, as *St. Ambrose* observes, blotted out of their books that of *St. John*, *God is a Spirit*, joyned with them. See *St. Ambrose de Spiritu Sancto*, lib. 3. cap. 11.

Secondly, They courted *Julian's* favour, and got a Toleration, by their flattering Petitions, applauding him as a man *with whom alone Justice did reside*. And in truth, all that hath been said in favour of a *Popish Successour*, comes short of what they said in favour of *Julian*. And whereas the *Orthodox* lookt on this Indulgence of the Emperour as a designe that would prove fatal to Christianity; for as *St. Augustine* says, *Quæ peior mors animæ, quam libertas erroris?* There is no death so evil as the licensing of error, which is the destruction of the Soul: Yet the *Donatists* on the contrary are loud in their Acclamations to *Julian* as a most gracious Prince; and when he was dead, would, if it had been possible, have *prayed him alive again*. And to ingratiate themselves yet more, they pull down the

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Cross which *Constantius* had set up in publick places to the honour of Christ, and set up *Julians Image* in its place. And by how much he was more severe against the Catholicks, so much the more they applauded him: nor would he have done so much Mischief as he did, had not they solicited him by their frequent and fawning Petitions. Such Orthodox Bishops as were famous for Learning, were all silenced: *Athanasius* indeed returned to *Alexandria*, but was presently banished again by their means, who informed the Emperour that *Athanasius* had baptized many Noble Persons, to the great disgrace of *Julian's* Empire and Religion. See *Baronius's Annals, Anno Christi 362. p. 115. Tom. 4. Mogunt.* So that *Athanasius*, *St. Basil*, and *St. Gregorie, Eugerius Antiochenus*, and both the *Apollinaries*, were banished and persecuted by means of the Arians. *St. Augustine* calls *Julian*, *Desertor Christi & inimicus*, an Apostate from Christ, and enemy to his Church: but *vester Julianus*, so great a friend to the *Donatists*, that he was wholly theirs.

Julian's affection to *George an Arian Bishop*, whose Writings he earnestly desired, intending probably to make use of them against the *Orthodox*, is recorded by himself in his Epistles, and was made known by setting up him in the place of *Athanasius*, as he
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generally did *Arians* in the room of the *Orthodox*. And *Baronius*, p. 117. speaking of the *Catholicks*, saies, *In quos conversus est furor Gentilium, Arianorum, pariter & Judaeorum*: they agreed with the most opposite parties against the *Catholicks*; *Jews*, *Gentiles*, and *Arians*. Perhaps you may give some credit to what is said by Mr. *Baxter's History of Councils enlarged*. *The Arians possess Constantine with hard thoughts of Athanasius: And it could not be expected that Julian should countenance the best, when Constantius had done so much against them, and got most of the Churches headed with Arian Bishops.* So that *Julian* maintained divers of the Leaders of the *Factions* as his Favourites and Pensioners, to balance the *Orthodox*, that they might be in a continual hurry, and find no establishment, but suffer as evil doers, and the causers of Division, when they onely asserted the *Evangelical Doctrine*, as well against the *Arians* as *Pagans*.

Rogatianus and *Pontius*, two *Donatists*, in a Petition of theirs to *Julian*, stile him the onely Assertor of publick libertie, from whom alone Justice and Clemencie could be hoped for. Than which flatteries, *St. Augustine* saies, *Nil injusius, nil perniciosius?* Their words were, *Quod apud eum sola justitiam haberet locum*, *Epist. 166.* that he would do nothing but what was just. The *Catholicks* wondered (as well they might)

might) that the *Donatists* should be so short-sighted, as not to perceive that *Julian* was striking at the very root of Christianity ; of which they often minded them, and gave them this plain Demonstration : *That by the same Edict by which they were indulged, the Worship of Idols was injoynd ; and the Devil and they were let loose together, to compass the Earth, and make Profelytes to their Party. Tunc reddidit (Julianus) Basilicas Donatistis, quando Templæ Dæmonis*, Aug. Epist. 166. Optatus, l. 2. p. 54. *Eo modo putans Christianum nomen de terris posse perire, si unitati Ecclesiæ de quâ lapsus fuerat, invideret, &c. hæc erat ejus prædicanda justitia.* Yet when *Julian* was dead, and *Jovian* a *Catholick* Emperour succeeded, the *Donatists* bewailed his death, and often wished that their good Protector were alive again : *Julianum ab inferis excitaretis.* St. Aug. ubi supra.

As to the third particular, it would fill a Volume to acquaint you what Outrages were committed by the *Donatists* upon the *Orthodox* during *Julian's* Reign : I shall onely name one or two, that may parallel those which were committed by the *Pagans*. The first shall be from Optatus, p. 55. *Felix* and *Januarius*, two *Donatist* Bishops came to the Castle of *Lemelle*, where the *Catholicks* had a Church ; which being shut against them, they commanded

manded the Rabble that followed them to pull it down: who presently got upon the roof and uncovered it; and perceiving the Deacons defending the Altar, they threw down the Tile-stones, and slew two of the Deacons in the place. In *Thypasia* a Citie of *Mauritania*, *Albanus Formensis* and *Felix Idicrensis*, with their bloody Companions, assaulted an Assembly of the *Catholicks* while they were at their Devotions; and driving them out of the Church, slew and wounded a great part of them, without respect of Sex or Age: The Bread of the Consecrated Eucharist they threw to their Dogs; which having eaten it, by the Judgment of God grew mad, and fell on their Masters, renting some of them in pieces: They sold the Consecrated Chalice to Women for vile uses, or to the Heathen for the service of their Gods; pulling down the Altars; and burnt the books of the Holy Scriptures. *Felix* one of their Leaders deflowered a Virgin that had a little before owned him for her Spiritual Father. None of the Heathen committed greater Outrages than some of their Bishops. And by their instigation, *Julian* shut up their Church-doors. *Honorius* the Emperour posted them for it, and caused an Edict to be set up in publick places as a Memorial, *Quo omnibus innotescat, & Catholicae confidentiae constantia, &*
Dona-

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Donatistarum desperatio & fucata perfidia; of the constancie of the *Catholicks*, and the baseness of the *Donatists* in making use of *Julian's* power to oppress them. These practices gave occasion to *Ammianus Marcellinus* to say, No Beasts were more cruel to Christians, than they were to one another. And they who shall close with Usurpers and Persecutors to favour and support their Faction against a true Church, deserve to be stigmatized as those *Donatists* were, *In perpetuam rei memoriam*.

P. 27. of the Alexandrian Synod, *Zozomen* (lib. 5. cap. 11.) gives us a better account. You are ready to catch at every thing that may make for a Toleration of *Schism* and *Heresie*, and therefore mention their Agreement not to use those terms which might puzzle ordinary understandings, and not on every occasion in Popular Orations, but in disputes against the Hereticks that denied the *Consubstantiality* of the Son and Holy Ghost. But you omit their confirmation of the *Nicene* Council, which *Zozomen* there names, (*viz.*) *That Athanasius and Eusebius having assembled the Bishops of divers Cities, did confirm the Decrees of that Council, and confessed that the Son and the Holy Ghost were consubstantial with the Father; and these they named the Trinity; and that they desired onely that the words *una* and *in unum* might not be used at that time,*

time, *is arguē a dōcē*, unseasonably to disturb the Church, and continue strife and disputes : but when the errors of Sabellius came in their way, they ought to refute them. However, it were well if the Dissenters would make the same use which you say the Christians did, (especially having once been enslaved by one as bad as Julian already) *i.e.* to be united with the Orthodox : this might be a means not onely to secure us from our fears of a Popish Successor, but also what may prove as destructive, those dangerous Heresies which when our Succession was interrupted did over-run the Land, and brought all things Sacred and Civil into Confusion.

You conclude your Preface thus : *I have been as careful in the Citations as ever I was in telling Money; and can onely say as they usually do in that case, I hope it is all right : and if it should chance in any one particular to prove otherwise, am ready to make it good.* I have not yet time to account over your Money; I fear it will fall short of the value you pretend it to be : for at first view, I perceive the metal is base and counterfeit, and intended to put a Cheat on the common sort of Christians, who are not well acquainted with such *Brimigems*. Besides, a great part of it is unreasonably clipped; and though you profess yourself ready (as to particular Quotations) I fear

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fear you will never be able to make just satisfaction as to the *Summa Totalis*, i.e. you can never make good your designe, *That it is lawfull for Christians to resist their Princes on pretence of Religion.* But to ease you of your *afflicting thoughts*, at present I shall take my leave of you, desiring you well to meditate on the following story. — *Rodolphus* Duke of *Suevia* swore Allegiance to *Henry* the Fourth: Pope *Hildebrand* absolves him of his Oath, being perswaded by some of the Popes Clergie to a Revolt. After which, he never prospered; and by Gods just judgment, his right hand, with which he swore, gangren'd, and was cut off. Whereupon, he told some of those Bishops that had dissuaded him from his Allegiance, *This is the hand that was lifted up when I swore Fidelity to my Emperour, which is now justly cut off for my Perjury and Rebellion; for which you are to answer who perswaded me to those perfidious practices.* Should I that have taken the Oaths of *Supremacie* and *Allegiance*, and made such a *Declaration* as is above-mentioned, by any Writing renounce the same, and teach others so to do; I should think the loss of that hand which was instrumental in it, a very gentle and easie punishment.

THE

T H E
CHAPTERS
A N S W E R E D.

An Answer to our Author's

C H A P. I.

A short Account of Julian's Life.

I Shall not interrupt my Discourse, which is designed as a Vindication of the *Loyalty* of the *Primitive Christians*, against the false, impudent, and impious *Calumnies* of this Author, with a *History* of *Julian's Life*, which I intend in a more full and impartial Relation by it self. It shall therefore suffice to observe here with our Author, p. 9. That *Julian charged the people that they should injure none of the Christians, nor reproach them, nor draw them to sacrifice against*

gainst their wills. So that the violencies offered to the *Christians*, were more from the insolencie of the *Heathen*, than any *Law* made by *Julian*, as our Author observes. And indeed the *Heathen*, even in *Julian's* time, never acted such Cruelties upon the *Christians*, as the *Arians* and *Donatists* did; which made *Ammianus Marcellinus*,^a a *Heathen*, to say, that no *Beasts* were so cruel to one another as the *Christians* were. And, in a word, if we should grant all that our Author says of *Julian's* persecuting the *Christians* in this Chapter, and all that he says of the *Christians* persecuting *Julian* in all the rest, to be true, we might be tempted to think that the *Christians* were the greatest *Persecutors*.

An Answer to our Author's

CHAP. II.

THIS Chapter you say contains *the sense of the Primitive Christians about his Succession*; of which you speak, p. 19. under these two heads: 1. how the *Succession* stood, and 2. what *Right* and *Title Julian* had to succeed to the Empire. This first, I confess, you have (but against your will) clearly stated; and it will be enough to discredit all that you suggest concerning the second; which is, That the Christians would have been willing to set aside his Title, and to have excluded him purely for his Religion; which upon your Reasons I suppose the *generalitie of Christians* would never have attempted, though *some few* might have been willing enough.

As to the first, the reason you mention from *Eusebius* is, That *the Throne of the Empire descended to Constantine from his Father, and by the Law of Nature* (which is a divine Law) *was reserved for his Sons and their Posteritie, and was to descend for ever, as another Paternal Inheritance doth.* And that this is the Law of Nature, you confirm from *Eumenius* a Hea-
then

then, (and others) who says, *It was not the casual consent of men, or any sudden effect of their favour, which made (Julian) a Prince; he gained it by being born into the world: which seems to me the first and greatest Gift of the Gods.* Now if by the Law of Nature, as well as of the *Empire*, Julian was to succeed; I cannot see how the Christians could by their Principles resist him in the administration of it, without *resisting the Ordinance of God.* For this, I have quoted Dr. *Hammond's* Paraphrase on *Rom. 13. 1, 2. &c.* and that Saying of *Tacitus*, *That we ought to endure wicked Princes as we do Inundations or Scarcitie, which are of Gods sending.*

These, you say, *p. 20.* are full and pregnant proofs; and I think, *ad hominem* cogent: for if, as you observe from *Eusebius*, the Empire was to descend as other Paternal Inheritances, then it must be more unlawful to resist or exclude a Prince from enjoying his Inheritance, than any private person. And then surely no sound Christian could have joyned in an *Address* to *Constantius* to exclude a person appointed as it were by the Voice of God, as you say of *Constantine* that he was declared absolute *Emperour* by the Army; and long before that, by God himself the great King of all, *p. 21.* And *St. Augustine* says the same, *viz. God that gave the Empire to Constantine, gave it to Julian.*
 Onely

Onely by the way, I do not think that your *Συμμετρίαι*, nor *νομίαι* neither, will, in the sence of the Greek Fathers, bear your interpretation of the *Law of Nature*: for *νόμος* is often used by Greek Authors for *Custom*. And I believe that Father whom you mention, intended no more than a Right of Succession for two or three Generations; which carried the name of a *Law*, as it doth also in our *Common Law*, where *Consuetudo Lex est*. And it is well known, that when the Heirs of the Emperors have been living, the *Roman Souldiers* have created their Emperours out of *Obscure Families*: but these are no Patterns for us Christians to follow, nor for us in this Nation above others. For *William* the Conqueror claimed the Crown not so much by his *Sword*, as by *Right of Succession*, (if you will believe the Author of that *Fanatical* book called *The Rights of the Kingdom*) to King *Edward*, whose *Kinsman* he was, and *his Heir by Will*, as appears by the Laws of *St. Edward* and *William*, p. 197. So that in this respect the *Descent* of the Crown of *England* is much more firm and established than that of the *Empire*, having been continued through more Generations, and confirmed by many Laws, which whoever shall infringe; takes off the Government from its Hinges, and leaves all to Confusion. For when a private Estate is

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intailed

intailed on a man and his Heirs, it is necessary that to bar the Heir, and alienate the Estate, the original Intail must be cut off, and then he that is in possession may dispose of the Inheritance to one or more. And perhaps this was the intent of the *Bill for Exclusion*, to make it an Act for the *Dissolution of Monarchy*, and reduce us to a *Commonwealth* again. And it were better we should suffer *some Inconveniencies* (if the Will of God be so) which yet are uncertain, than against the Will of God to do things unjust, and draw more certain troubles on our own heads. For in the Contest between the Houses of *Tork* and *Lancaster*, when the first alway pleaded the *Right of Descent*, the other alleadged the *Acts of Parliaments*; there were infinite troubles, which cost the lives of above 200000 men, whereof eight were Kings and Princes, forty Dukes, Marquesses and Earls, besides Barons and Gentlemen; and after all, the Kingdom fixed on this Maxime, *Jus Sanguinis nullo Jure dirimi possit, i. e.* The Right of Bloud cannot be abrogated by any Law. And the Author of *the Rights of the Kingdom* says, that in the days of *Henry the Third* and *Richard the First*, when was a motion of some great men that a *Bastard* might inherit, the Parliament at *Merton* cried out, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*, p. 264. Therefore I wonder that the

same

same Author, p. 98. making a Supposition, That if any *one man* of all the *Commons in Parliament* should usurp the *Crown* with all its dues: (He mentions not the *whole House*, for that hath been done already) *What should I? what may I do?* (saith he) and answers, *Nothing, but mind my Calling, and attend the Judgment of the highest Court that I know, that may command my Body and Judgment much.* It is a Maxime in our Law, That *the King never dies*: The King and his Heirs are looked on in the eye of the Law as an *Individual*; and to prevent *Tumults and Disputes*, they are joyned in most of those Acts that concern the Dignity of the Crown and publick Peace; and the Son hath sometime been Crowned in his Fathers life-time. Yet we plead not *Providence* in the long continuance of the *Succession*, nor the *Law of the Land*, upon which for other matters you lay the stress of your whole Discourse; but upon the *Law of God*, Deut. 17. 8. where it was ordained as a *Statute of Judgment*, (*i. e.* say *Fagius* and *Munster*, a *firm and immutable Law*, and as the *Vulgar*, *Sanctum Lege perpetua*)—That *IF A MAN DIE WITHOUT CHILDREN, THE INHERITANCE MUST BE GIVEN TO HIS BRETHREN.* And *Ainsworth* from *Solomon Jarchi*, says, *The Brother of him that was dead, or his Brothers seed, shall inherit.* All

this hath been observed by the *Law of Nations* where Kingdoms are hereditary, That as it is unjust, so it hath been always unhappie to alter the Succession; and even in private estates, the disinheriting the right Heir hath been very much condemned and unfortunate.

And yet, (p. 22. you say) *the Fathers had the Conscience to set aside such a Title.* They could not do it with a good Conscience, the thing being in it self evil: for as the Law of God forbids to countenance a poor man in his Cause, so doth it also to defraud the rich, or follow a multitude to do evil, neither to speak in a cause to decline after many to wrest judgment. None of us would judge it reasonable to be deprived of his right contrary to Law; and why then should we think it lawful to deprive another of that right to which we owe the preservation of our own? *Athenagoras* more clearly shews what was the consent of the Fathers in this case: *We pray for your Empire, and that the Son, as it is just, may succeed in his Fathers Throne.* And yet they both were Pagans. But what would the Consent of Fathers, and the sense of the primitive Christians signifie against the Decree and Laws of Heaven? who cannot more plainly declare his will to us, than by the voice of Nature, by his written Word, by pointing out, as by his finger

finger, in his Providence, in making *Heirs to Kingdoms* as well as *other Estates* by a long and legal discent: and, as St. *Augustine* said, *God that gave the Empire to good Constantine, gave it also to Julian.* So *Tertallian: Inde est Imperator, unde & Homo antequam Imperator.*--- And *Irenæus: By whose command they were born Men, by his they are ordained Kings.*

And yet all this Crack of the *Fathers* and *Primitive Christians*, and (p. 31.) *the whole Christian world*, produceth nothing but a flash of *Rhetorick* from an *Invective* in *Gregory Nazianzen* against *Julian*; from which if we appeal to the *same Author* in a more temperate and *Christian Zeal*, when he delivered himself dogmatically to the people committed to his charge, we shall find him teaching and exhorting a *different Doctrine* and *Practice* from what is here delivered by him: of which I shall speak at large hereafter; and onely note by the way, That the *Oration* was made long after *Julian's* death: which savoured not very much of *humanity*; and if it were upon occasion of some disappointment, as is reported, it had as little of *Christianity*. And this will appear a truth, that he did exceed as well in the praise of *Constantius* the first *Arian Emperiour*, as in the dispraise of *Julian*, and the misrepresentation of the *Christians* in his time. All which circumstances

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considered, and no other proof produced, our Authour deserves to do *publick* Penance for abusing the *Fathers* and *Primitive Christians*, and, as he saies, *the whole Christian world*. And yet what can *Gregory* blame in *Constantius*, but that which he calls his *Ignorance* or *Mistake*? not being aware of his *Apostacie*. And it was too unchristian to blame the Emperour not onely for making him a King, but keeping him alive. This (you say, p. 24.) is enough to shew that *Constantius* would never have made *Julian Cæsar* if he had known him to have been such. And, in my judgment, here is as much said to prove that *Constantius* ought to have slain him when his Brother *Gallus* was slain; Although this was a thing which he repented of in his Death-bed, and would undoubtedly be more unworthy of a *Christian Emperour* to exclude him out of the life, than to leave him to a *Succession* that descended by inheritance to him. And if it be such a *Bill of Exclusion* that you contend for, I am sure none of the *Fathers* nor any good *Christian* would ever consent to it.

P. 24. Is an Exclamation against the Emperour, having first said that *Constantius* did far excel all other Kings in Wisdom and Understanding, p. 25. and that he was led by the Hand of God into every Counsel and Enterprize (what, in turning *Arian*, and persecuting *Athanasius* and other

ther *Orthodox Bishops*, and putting *Arians* in their seats?) your wisdom was admired above your power, and again your power more than your wisdom : but your Piety was valued above them both. Then he comes to blame the Emperour as the onely ignorant and inconsiderate person—and which of the Devils stole in along with you at that Consult? And yet again, p. 26. he saies of this first *Arian* Emperour, That he would have parted not onely with his Empire, and all that he had in this world, even his Life it self, for the securitie and safetie of the *Christian Religion*, &c. And our Author saies, that at his death he shewed with much earnestness the concernment he had for the true Religion, p. 28, 29.

But for ought I yet see, *Julian's* Apostacie was not yet known, but he was generally accounted both a pious and a stout man ; and therefore his repenting of making *Julian Cæsar* was not on the account of Religion, but for some other respect, *Julian* having been declared *Augustus* by his Souldiers, who often disposed of the Empire, and being then on his march to dispute the Title with *Constantius* ; (for hitherto *Julian* kept to the Christian Assemblies, and was not known to be a Pagan, as you shew from *Ammianus Marcellinus*, p. 28.) After that *Julian* was declared Emperour, he still feigned himself a Christian :

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and though in private he performed his *Heathenish Rites*, trusting some few with the secret, yet he publickly went to Church on Twelfth-day; and after he had been devout at the Service, he came away again. This was done at Vienna, not quite Ten Moneths before the Emperour's death.

This is all that our Author produceth for the sense of the *Fathers* and *primitive Christians* for the Exclusion of *Julian*; his Title was *divine*, his Religion at most onely suspected, not known. Yet saies our Author, p. 30. *If this Doctrine* (concerning the alteration of Succession) shall displease any, which is contrary to what these *Fathers* (which will not amount to one single person) assert with so much vehemencie: He thinks it reasonable that first they confute this Doctrine (of Exclusion) which they dislike. And secondly, That they would never fetch their *Mountebank-Receipts of Prayers and Tears*, and suchlike encouragements to Arbitrarie Government, out of the Writings of these very *Fathers*. This our Author knew could easily be done, and therefore he thought to prejudice his Readers against it, by calling them *Mountebank-Receipts*, and *Antimonarchical Authors*, and encouragements to Arbitrarie Government. Than which I scarce know any thing more profane, but the down-right Blasphemie of the Doctrine of Christ, and the practice

practice of the best Christians, who counted not their lives dear unto them, that the Doctrine of the Gospel might not be evil spoken of, as if Christianity were an utter Enemy to Cæsar, or as another Mahomet to establish his Kingdom by the Sword. What an easie matter doth our Author think it, to impose any falsehood on the Vulgar, when he tells them of Fathers and primitive Christians with so much vehemencie asserting the lawfulness of excluding Julian; and instead of all other proofs, produceth onely a Rhetorical Expression of a person in some passion; from which it might be proved as lawful to Murder Julian, as to Exclude him from the Succession? Hercules tuam fidem! But to answer our Author's demand.

I shall endeavour to confute his Doctrine, (*viz.*) *That the Fathers and Primitive Christians of the whole World were for the Exclusion of Julian from the Empire. Iræneus, Tertullian, and St. Augustin, you have seen to be of a contrarie Judgment.*

1. The true Christians could not be for it, upon your Position, *That he had a right to it by the Law of Nature, and the Hand of God gave it him; which you seem to assert.*

2. It is certain the Arian Fathers were not, as hath been already shewn; they congratulated Julian's advent to the Kingdom: Much less could

could the *Orthodox* be for it upon *Gregories* surmise that *Constantius* would have excluded him out of the *Life* as well as the *Empire*.

3. From their behaviour towards *Constantius* a vehement *Arian*, the *Orthodox Fathers* shew they were not for Exclusion. *Constans* his Brother was joyned with him in the *Empire*, and he defended *Athanasius* and the *Orthodox Bishops* against *Constantius*; yet these *Christians* never sided with *Constans* against *Constantius*: they never resisted or sought to depose or exclude him, although his *Heretic* was extremely dangerous, and propagated by *Force* and *Persecution* of more eminent *Divines* than any that suffered under *Julian*. And as our Author says that *Poperie* is ten times worse than *Paganism*; so I have heard as wise and good men as himself say, that *Socinianism* is as bad as *Poperie*; and the *Arians*, who denied the *Deity* of the *Son* and the *Holy Ghost*, were much like our *Socinians*. Mr. *Baxter* hath so much *Charitie* as to think that some that died in the *Communion* of the *Church of Rome* are *Saints in Heaven*; though he will scarce grant it to such as die in the *Communion* of the *Church of England*, and therefore much less to those that die in the belief of the *Socinians*, who renounce the *Doctrine* of the *Blessed Trinity*, and the use and efficacy of the *Holy Sacraments*.

4. *Constan-*

4. *Constantius* himself would never have consented to the Murder of *Julian*, upon due consideration ; the Murder of others being repented of upon his Death-bed : and here is but one Argument for both his Exclusion and his Murder.

Now although our Author hath sufficiently refuted himself in what hath been said, yet because the Calumnies against the Christians of that Age, though asserted onely with noise and confidence, (and, as the saying is, *Fortiter Calumniare aliquid adhærebit*) may beget a false opinion both of those *Primitive Christians*, and the *Doctrine of Christianity* it self, and also infect the present Generation, in which too many are glad to hear what power they may exercise on such Governours as are not of their own Judgment ; I shall in due time enquire strictly into *this Authors* Opinion concerning *Resistance*, and shew, that his whole Fabrick will be crush'd by the authoritie and reason of *those very Authors* upon whose *bare names* he seeks to raise it. But for this I must desire the Readers patience.

An Answer to our Author's

C H A P. III.

Their Behaviour towards him in Words.

THe Reader may understand that our Author hath done with *Julian* as a *Successor*, and now shews how the Christians treated him when he was in *full possession* of the Empire, and that *by Divine Appointment* (as he grants). And therefore I hope it will be considered, that the following *Reflections* do shew, from the practice of the Christians of *that Age*, how the Christians of *this* may behave themselves towards their lawful Governours. And he begins, *p. 32.* with a *great varietie of Instances*, as he calls them, *of the hatred and contempt of those Christians towards Julian.* And I shall also desire that the Reader will consider not onely the *matters of fact*, but the *lawfulness* of such *Words* and *Actions* as were spoken and done against *Julian.* *A facto ad jus non valet argumentum.* And then by what *number* of Christians, and of what *condition* they were that spoke and acted such things as were spoken and acted: For we have known in our Age such things spoken and

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and done, by no small companie of men, against a Prince of known Integrity, as will make all *sober Christians* to be *ashamed* and *confounded* at the report of them. And if such behaviour of our *present Christians* shall be a hundred years hence read in our *Annals*, it will be a grand Calumnies against such as were more *Loyal* and *Pious*, for any Reader to conclude that such was the general practice of the Christians in that Age; or that because *one discontented Bishop* turn'd Apostate, and fought against his Prince, *that all the Bishops and Christians* then alive were Rebels.

P. 33. Of their behaviour you inform us under these three Heads. 1. Of their *Words*. 2. Their *Actions*. 3. Their *Devotions*.

Of their Words. You say they were *quit with him for calling them Galilæans*, in calling him *Idolianus*. This, I confess, favours of the Wit of that Age: So the *Arians* called *Athanasius Sathanasius*; so the *Pharisees* called our Saviour *Beelzebub*. But did they return *railing for railing*? I am sure they taught us to return *Blessing and Prayers* even to our *Persecutors*. What if the *Antiochians* libelled him, and plaid with his *Beard*, and twitted him with some *natural Blemishes* and *Imperfections*, whereof he himself gives the world an account in his *Misopogon*? Is that suffi-

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sufficient authority for us to libel our *Governours*? Is it becoming a Christian to deride the *bodily Infirmities*, as the *Shape of the Body*, the *Gate*, the *Beard*, and, as you say, *p. 33. every thing that belonged to him*? *Julian* himself shewed more wisdom and *humanity* in scorning these impotent Reproaches, than they did *Christianity* in seeking by such *boyish language* to vex every *Vein in his Royal Heart*, *p. 66.* It is a sign that he had more of *moderation* than they; for had they had his *Power*, (by your description of them) they wanted no *Will* utterly to ruine him. But I think it more agreeable to Truth, though some few over-zealous persons might *Lampoon* his *forrie Beard as fit to make Ropes of*, &c. that yet the generality were *better principled*, and neither used their *Tongues* nor their *Swords* against that *Heathen Emperour*. As for those that did so reproach him, *Julian* tells them truly they had renounced the Laws, and him that had the keeping of them, (i. e. *They dealt with him, as you say, like Barbarians*). And if the Christians were *first in the Transgression*, it was not like *Julian* would be long behind them, or be less *barbarous* than they. And yet though he could have revenged himself with the *Sword*, he did it onely with the *Pen*: And when he was put into a fit of anger, he onely told them as a
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punishment that *he would see them no more.* Nondum ira quam ex compellationibus & probris conceperat emolitâ loquebatur, asperius se eos asserens postea non visurum, *Am. Marcell. l. 23.* I think in this particular *one would take them to be the Apostates, and not Julian (as you say, p. 66.)*

P. 36. You give a particular instance of a *single man in Berea, whose Son warping to the false Religion, his Father turned him out of doors and disinherited him; who related this whole matter to the Emperour, then coming to Berea. The Emperour being arrived, invited among other Magistrates and Chief men, this young man and his Father, and set these two next himself; and tells the Father, that in his mind it was not just to force a mans Judgment otherwise inclined, to reduce it to the other side: Therefore don't you (saies Julian) force your Son against his mind to follow your Opinion; for neither do I force you to follow mine, though I could easily compel you. The Father sharpening his Discourse, with a Divine Faith, answered, O King, do you speak of this Villain, who is hated by God, and hath preferred a Lye, before the true Religion? But saies Julian, putting on a vizard of Meekness again, Friend, leave railing; and turning to the young man, said, I will take care of you my self, since I have not prevailed with your Father to do it. This Berean deserves the*

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the Title of *Noble* for his *Zeal*; but it reacheth not to a demonstration of what you produce it for, *p. 35.* that the Christians took the freedom to *reproach him and his Religion to his face*: for though he despised his *Religion*, yet for ought that appears, he owned his *Authority*, and revered his *Person*, bespeaking him by the Title of *O King*. And here is no example for railing words, neither from that *Noble Berean* against *Julian*, nor from *Julian* against him.

P. 38. you give another instance of *Maris* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, who being blind, was led to the Emperour as he was Sacrificing to Fortune, for which he called him *Impious Apostate*, and *Atheist*; and *Julian* reproached him again with his blindness, saying, his *Galilæan God* would not cure him. *Maris* replied, *I thank God for striking me with blindness, that I may not see thy face*. This was bold and well; for he reflected not on his *Person*, but his *Paganism*. The sayings of *Juventinus* and *Maximus* you think fit to omit; but I shall shortly mind you of them. It is strange that our Author could find no instances more pertinent to his purpose than these two, wherein (as he says, *p. 45.*) they shewed themselves to be men of like passions with other men: though neither of them shewed themselves to be men of a capricious humour, but declaring their just indignation against his Apostacie,

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Apostacie, yet spared his *Person* and his *Office*; as knowing that they ought not to speak evil of the *Ruler of the People*, though they were such as had been *Usurpers*, and caused them to be smitten contrary to the *Law*, as *St. Paul* informs us; much less when they onely smite us with their *tongues*, as *Julian* did in the case alledged. And if it were done in *passion*, as you intimate, you know how our *Saviour* condemned that in his own *Disciples* that would call for fire from *Heaven* on the *Samaritans*.

Now against the *speaking evil of Dignities*; which *Jude*, *vers.* 8. sharply reproves in the *Gnosticks* of his time, I shall produce the practices of other eminent *Christians*, even in *Julians* Reign. *Athanasius* was a great *Pillar of the Church* at that time, and a great example of *passive Obedience* under the severe *Persecutions* both of *Constantius* and *Julian*; yet he gave his *Oath* that he never spake evil of him, as you shall hear anon. *St. Ambrose* spake of the same times, The Christian *Ledentibus non irascitur, Spoliantibus non resistit, cædentibus non repugnat, &c.* *Lactantius* lived somewhat sooner, but shews the practice of *Christians* in his time, which was under *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, the two greatest *Tyrants*: *Cum tam nefanda perpetimur, NE VERBO quidem reluctamur, sed Deo remittimus ultionem*, *Instit.* l. 5. c. 21. and the same patience he says was

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practised every where ; *That though they endured unspeakable miseries, yet none of the Christians did resist, so much as in a word.*

P. 38. *It would be endless* (you say ; that is, it would not be to your end and intent) *to reckon up the Sayings of Juveninus and Maximus ; which you name again, p. 39. but wisely pass by.* For they being accused for speaking against *Julian*, by some such Witnesses as your self, do without any maledictions thus plead for themselves : *We, O Emperour, who were brought up in the true Religion, and have lived in obedience to those excellent Laws made by Constantine and his Sons, cannot but greatly lament to see all things defiled with impiety---our Meats and Drink are polluted.* (The Emperour had caused some of the Water, or the Sacrifices offered to his Gods, to be mixt or sprinkled with their Meat ; which did not hinder the most Christians from using them, according to what the Apostle allowed, 1 Cor. 10.) : But do they rail or rebel ? No : they are Lachrymists ; *Those things* (say they) *cause us to shed many tears at home, and they constrain us to make our sorrowful complaint before thee.* *We are offended at nothing else in your Government.* This you wisely omitted ; using onely their names, to make up a number. *Ad populum has Phaleras.*

An Answer to our Author's

CHAP. IV.

Of their Actions.

FROM their *Words* you come to speak of *Blows*; yet none that I perceive fell upon *Julian's* person: for you give us but *two Instances* of this; and neither of them reached his person, and but one an Officer that was inferior to him that struck him: and that was *Valentinian*, a *Colonel of the Household-guards*, who as he was going before the Emperour to the Temple of *Fortune*, was sprinkled with Holy Water by one of the *Chaplains* (as our Author calls him): which coming nigh to *Valentinian's* Clothes, he strook the *Sacrist*, saying, *It would rather defile than cleanse him.* I am at a loss how to reconcile this History with another more generally reported by *Gregory Nazianzen*, as well as others, That *Valentinian* voluntarily stript himself of his *Military Girdle* (that is, laid down his *Commission*) upon an Edict of *Julian's*, That no Christian should bear Office in his Army; for which noble act *St. Augustine* (*De civit. Dei, lib. 18. cap. 52.*) calls him a *Confessor*.

fessor. But if it be true that he was *Colonel of the Guards* when he made this Assault, and that *Julian ipso facto* sent him away to a Garrison lying by a Desert to spend his days there, then the *other History* must be false; and I think it more safe to believe that History which *Gregory Nazianzen* delivers, attested by many others, than that which comes on the single report of *Theodoret*. But if the *Colonel of the Guards* had struck a *Sprinkler* of Holy Water, what was this to the striking of *Julian*?

The next Instance is from a passage of *Gregory Nazianzen*, of which this is a brief account. Who is there to be found that more despised the Emperour, or had a greater hand in destroying him, than my Father? Of his contempt, amongst many others, both those Archers and THEIR COMMANDER are a proof, whom HE BROUGHT against our Church, as either to take possession of it, or to destroy it: for having assaulted many others, he came hither likewise with the same intent, and imperiously demanded the Temple. He so far failed of accomplishing any thing of what he desired, that if he had not presently got out of my Fathers way (being aware of it, either of himself, or by some bodys advice) he might have gone away kicked; the Bishop boiling with Anger against him, and with Zeal for the Temple. A very hot fit of Anger and Zeal together, it must needs be, that did

did animate so *ancient a Bishop* (being ninety years old) to *lift up his heel* against a young *Emperour* of thirty two, in the head of an Army, who having assaulted many *other Charches*, came resolved to seize *this* also. Who can think *Julian* would be diverted with the notice of the old Bishops lying in wait for him; or that he who had read what *David* said concerning *Saul*, (after that he also had apostatized from God, as I suppose that old Bishop had done) viz. *Who can lift up his hand against the Lords Anointed & be guiltless*, 1 Sam. 26.9. should think of *lifting up his heels* against *Julian* in the head of his Army? Either therefore this must be such an *as* as is not to be parallel'd in all *Longinus*, or such an heroick intention as never entered into the heart of any Zealot among the Jews. But to come more close to the matter; you say, p. 43. You have often tried to make this beating intended for the Captain of the Archers, and have been ready to make Solæcisms in the Greek, to avoid the greater Solæcism of an Emperour of the world awed and terrified with the fear of a kicking. But it will not do. No; the Proverb hinders it, *None so blind as he that will not see*. It might have been done easily enough, if you had not committed a Solæcism your self, in translating the word *wherein* he Brought, but had kept the righter sence of that word, which *Billius*,

the learned Interpreter of *Gregory Nazianzen* translates *immiserat*, *he sent*; or, which your *Elias Cretensis* useth, *concitabat*, *he stirred up*, or *compelled* to go against that Church; which if the Emperour had been in person, he need not to have done. And therefore I suppose *Gregory Nazianzen* meant it of the *Captain of the Archers*, that demanded the Church *non ut imperator*, not *pro imperio*, by virtue of a *Mandamus* or Commission from the Emperour: for sure the Emperour himself needed no such Commission. Nor is it probable that the Emperour himself would in his March against *Persia* trot up and down from one Church to another: for you say, *he had assaulted many others to make a seizure of them*. Nor is it a *Solæcism* to say the Emperour seized those Churches which another did seize by his command. Our Author I suppose was led into this error by taking the word *ἰσχυρίζομαι* from *ἰσχυρίζομαι*, which signifieth *induco*, to lead or introduce: whereas the Interpreters that render it *immitto*, or *concito*, being better *Grecians* than himself, understand it to be from the Verb *ἰσχυρίζομαι*, of which every *Lexicon* will give him such a sence, as that, without a wresting of it, it must refer to the *Captain of the Archers*. But we are come to the end of this Tragi-comedy: The Emperour kept himself in a whole skin; the Bishops Anger vented it self some other

other way, and all was husht and calmed. But certainly our Author, who hath first begun this Quarrel between the *Emperour* and the *Bishop*, is much to be blamed, whether he did it *ignorantly* (which is the best construction that his Friends can make) or else *maliciously*, which appears by forsaking the Translations of *Billius* and *Cretensis*, and preferring another that might favour his designe. And I challenge him to be as big as his word, and make *satisfaction* for this base Coinage. And that you may not be guilty of such a wilful mistake for the future, I shall give you this Token to be worn as a Frontlet on your brow, That from *iniga* is derived *inixtus*, an Instigator.

P. 44. Here you have a description of one of the *Lachrymists* of old, &c. How far this Bishop was a *Lachrymist*, we shall see hereafter. It were fitter for the Wit of a *Julian*, than the Piety of a *Christian*, to deride the *Prayers and Tears* of those ancient Christians. Whatever *Garlands* and *Trophies* *Nazianzen* or *Basil* erected for that *old Bishop*, are now pulled down by the hands of a *young P*— who represents him as a *Hector*, and a *Striker*, expressly contrary to our *Saviour's* Example, and *St. Paul's* Injunction.

You adde, p. 44. And now I know no more than the *Pope* of *Rome*, what to make of all this ;

what they meant by it, or on what Principles they proceeded. I question not the Principles of those in whom you have instanced: it sufficeth me that you say it was done *in a fit of boiling anger*. But when, speaking of the Principles of such as offer violence to their lawful Emperours, you say *you know no more than the Pope of Rome*: I say, it is pity that you should know or divulge half so much: For what you have suggested concerning these pretended Violences offered by Primitive Christians to their lawful Emperours, hath a very malign influence on the present Age; and for this and other such Reasons, (as I said) I would rather lose my right hand than be the Author of them. But if you know their Principles as well as the Pope of *Rome*, you know he holds it lawful to depose or kill any *Prince* whom he shall judge and Excommunicate as a *Heretick* or *Tyrant*; and he can teach you to distinguish between resisting *Julian*, and resisting the *Devil that was in him*: That the King is *Universis minor*, and that the people who gave him his power may resume it, &c.

You say, *p. 45. none of those Bishops had ever been in Scotland, nor had learnt to fawn upon an Apostate, and a mortal Enemy to Religion. Parcius ista*: For though some may think you are reflecting only on a *Popish Successor*;

cessor ; yet others, considering you speak of *Julian*, who was now a lawful Emperour, may stretch this line too far. *Scotland* indeed hath been glutted with the blood of their *Kings*, whereof about Thirtie have suffered violent Deaths. I acquit those *Bishops* from confederacie with *Scotland* ; they never contributed to the destruction of any : I wish I could do so by the *Presbyterians*. Yet I perceive you know how to yoke the *Popes Bull* and the *Scotish Heifer* together, and with them to make large Furrows on the backs of *Kings*. There was, I remember, for above Forty years since, a great Correspondence between *Rome* and *Scotland*, who then communicated their *Principles* to each other ; and though none of the old *Bishops* were acquainted with them, yet some late *Presbyters* have espoused them, and can on all occasions (for the disturbance of our English Nation) talk as *Whiggishly* as ever *Knox* or *Buchanan* did. But they are so disingenuous as to conceal the names of their good Teachers, from whom they learned to distinguish not onely between *Julian* and the Devil in him, but between *Charles Stuart* and the King, that they might destroy him in a double capacity ; first, as a King, and then as a Man. And if, as you say, the Laws of our Land do not allow any one to imagine violence to their lawful Empe-

Emperour : And if, as *Bracton* says, *fama apud graves & bonos viros*, is a proof of Treason, I fear an Indictment may lie against the Author of *Julian's* Life ; for that— *Not having the fear of God before his Eyes, but being moved, &c.* It is therefore a most profane and Reproachful inference , with which you conclude *Chap.6.* *That in that Age the best Prayers and Tears were those that contributed most to Julian's destruction.*

An Answer to our Author's

C H A P. V.

Of their Devotions : And first of their Psalms.

THis was indeed the *Devotion* of our late *Times*, to begin with a *Psalm*, not regarding the *Scriptures*, or as much as the *Commandments*, *Creed*, or *Lords Prayer* ; and then to *preach* in their *Prayers*, and *pray* in their *Preaching* ; or, if you will, in our Authors Language , to say their *Prayers backward*. In their *Devotions*, you say, *p. 45*. *It might be expected we should see the flights of their self-denying and suffering Religion ; and one may expect they should lay aside their animositie against Julian, though he were their Ememie, and for that reason pray the harder for him.*--- This certainly was their *duty*, wherein they might have shewn themselves *Christians indeed* : But this, our Author thinks, was fit onely for the Christians in *Dioclesians time*, and those that lived in the *most Primitive times*. I am as sure that they used the *right method* of *Devotion* in praying for their *Heathen Persecutors*, as our Author can be of what he seems to glorie in, that these in *Julian's*

lian's time *prayed the wrong way*, p. 46. *They cannot sing a Psalm* (saies he) *but they make his Confusion the burden of it.* Such *Psalms* as these, are none of the *Songs of Sion*, which should make for *Peace*; nor had he the *Wisdom of Solomon* that composed them, or they the *Spirit of Christ* that sung them. Our *Saviour* (as we read) *sung a Hymn* a little before his *Passion*; but it was not for *confusion* of those that came to apprehend and crucified him; he *prayed for them: Father, forgive them, &c.* Now though the *Brethren of Scotland* have been silent of late, yet among the *Sisters* there are many such *sweet Singers* still, who in their *Rhapsodies* dart up *Arrows, Fire-brands*, and *Death* against *Heaven* it self; which have deservedly recoiled on their own heads, and spoiled their singing. And if such be their *running Verses*, and the *Burden of their Songs*, sing *Quicunque vult* for me; I will be none of that *black Quire*: *St. Stephens* example is fitter for a *Christian*, who *prayed for his Persecutors* while they were stoning of him, *Lord, lay not this sin to their charge*, *Acts 7. v. 60.* And all sober *Christians* will rather take *St. James* his advice than the *Author of Julian*, who tells us, if we use our *Tongues to bless God even the Father*, and to *curse men which are made after the similitude of God*, (and *Princes* have a *double Image of God*;

God ; as they are *Men*, and as they are *Princes*) if we are *double-tongued*, and out of the *same mouth proceeds blessing and cursing* : my brethren (saies he) *these things ought not so to be*, James 3. 9, 10. And now let us consider his Proofs. And first, as to the instance of those who *removed the Bones of Babilas* ; it was ill done to set *David's Psalms* to the tune of *Sheba's Trumpet*, *We have no portion in David*, *neither have we any inheritance in the Son of Jesse* : *Every man to his Tents*, O *Israel*. Doubtless, they should rather have prayed for his *Conversion* than his *Confusion*. How unsuitable was this to the *Funeral-Solemnitie* of a *Martyr*, when they should have rather *blessed God for the example of the Faith and Patience of Babilas*, than have provoked the Emperour to have made it *their own Funeral-dirge* ! Our Saviour advised his Disciples to *flee from persecution*, not to *draw it on their own heads*.

The second instance, is of *Publia* and her Maidens, who sung *to the same tune*, and contrary to what *St. James* prescribes ; having *praised God her Creator*, by and by, in a fit of *Rage*, whereof (you say, p. 50.) *there seemed to be some quantitie*, she turned her Devotion into *Curses plainly levell'd at the head of Julian* : And it is a wonder, that having to do with *such an Emperour*, that they had not like

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Swans ended their *Lives* with their *Songs*. But did any *companie* of *Christians* at that time meet solemnly together, and make use of such a *Directorie* for their *publick Devotions*? No; they were but the *passionate acts* of a few *private persons*, contrary to the *general practice* of the *Fathers* and *serious Christians*, as shall most undeniably appear anon. But this calls to my mind a more rude and barbarous behaviour of *some* (who accounted themselves the *best Christians*) towards the *Royal Martyr*, who honouring one of their *Congregations* with his presence, when they came to sing a *Psalm*, by whose instigation it was I know not, the 52 *Psalm* was named, and begun to be read:

*Why dost thou Tyrant boast abroad
Thy wicked works to praise?*

Whereat the good King lifting up himself, saies, I pray you to sing the 56 *Psalm*,

*Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray,
For man would me devour.*

And the *Congregation* cheerfully sung with his Majesty. *This was one great fault* (saith he) *of the Common-prayer, that it taught them to pray so often for me; to which prayers they*
had

had not loyaltie enough to say Amen. It is a most profane Custom, though it hath of late years been too much in ule, to turn our *Prayers* into *Satyrs*, and our *Psalms* into *Pasquils* and *Libels*; and to vomit forth our *Spleen*, when we should pour out our *Hearts* before God.

I shall conclude this Chapter with *Athanasius* his answer to *Constantius*, when he had been accused for stirring up *Constans* against his Brother *Constantius* to restore him by Arms. *I am not so mad, O Emperour, that you should suspect me to have had any such thought. I call God to witness against my Soul, and I swear, the Lord can bear me witness, and his Anointed your Brother, I never mentioned you for any evil before your Brother; neither ever stirred him up against you, as these (Arians) slander me: but whenever I had access to him, he himself mentioned your gracious inclination; And God knows what mention I made of your godly disposition. --- I am not so mad, neither have I forgotten the voice of God, which saith, Curse not the King in thine heart, nor the mighty in the secret of thy chamber; for the birds of the air shall reveal it, &c. If the things spoken in secret touching you Princes cannot be hid, is it likely that I in the presence of a Prince, and many standing by, would say any thing of you otherwise than what was good? --- I beseech your Highness call to mind my behaviour*

haviour when you admitted me to your presence at Vimimachum, at Cæsaria, and Antioch; whether I did so much as offer an evil word of Eusebius my bitter Enemy, or of any my persecutors: And if I refrained my tongue when I was to plead against them in my own defence, what madness had it been to traduce an Emperour before an Emperour, and to stir up one Brother against another? Athanasii Apol. ad Imperatorem Constantius. Yet was this Bishop turn'd out of his Church without kicking the Emperour, or any Officer of his, as may be there read: he departed peaceably; and though the Citizens were ready to take Arms on Ambrose his behalf, he pacified them and departed.

An Answer to our Author's

C H A P. VI.

Their Prayers and Tears.

WHereof, he says, Gregory gives a large account. So large indeed, that our Author onely pickt and chose what might make most for his purpose, omitting what was most material : for in that *second Oration against Julian*, p. 127. he says, *τίς οὐ τὰ πάντα κατέπευξε, ἢ πλὴν παντοκρατορίας* *How great provision of Armour and inventions of Engines; how many myriads of men and armed Souldiers could effect those things which we by our Prayers onely, and God by his Will hath done?* Nor is it probable that the Christians at that time did want force to restrain the violence of the Emperour, seeing our Author confesseth, that *he who thought it a small business to conquer the Persians, thought it a great work to reduce the Christians.* And doubtless that Pagan wanted not malice to root them out, but he distrusted his Power : for even of that Army which he led into Persia, the far greatest part, if not all, were Christians ; which appears not onely by their chu-

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* *Grig. p. 117.* sing *Jovian* to be their Emperour
 * immediately after his death) who
 had renounced all his Honour, & suffered exile
 for *Christianity*; but by their unani-
 * *See Ruff. l. 2. c. 1. Socr. l. 3. c. 22. Theod. l. 4. c. 1.* mous * Acclamation, when *Jovian*
 told them he was unwilling to
 undertake the Government of a
 Pagan Army, *We are all Christians! we are all
 Christians!*

This consideration, drew from the Learned
Mountague upon the relation of *St. Gregory*
 (ὅτι μὴ οὐκ ἔπαυον) this Note; *It was not because
 they could not, but because they would not resist:*
 for they had strength sufficient to have sup-
 pressed the Tyrant, as *St. Augustine* and *Gregory*
 declare: The Christian interest was so largely
 propagated, and had taken such deep roots,
 that it could not be destroyed, unless the Em-
 pire had perished with it. *Tertullian* says, the
 Christians were *pars pene major cujusque Civita-
 ris, & vestra Omnia implevimus*; And if they
 had but deserted the Empire, it would have
 been as a Wilderness: Yet it appeared to be
 true, That *Christianus nullius est hostis nedum
 Imperatoris*. And *St. Cyprian ad Demetr. Nemo
 nostrum quando apprehenditur reluctatur, nec
 se adversus injustam violentiam vestram, (quam-
 vis nimis & copiosus sit populus noster) ulciscitur.*) But those *Christians* had learn'd pati-
 ence in the School of Christ, as well by ex-
 ample

ample as precept ; and not to overturn and bring all to confusion, with a

Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.

So the Learned *Mountague*. So that when *Gregory* says, *they had no other defence, but all was cut off from them*, he may be well understood, concerning the use of any other means, all violence and resistance being forbidden them ; for, *id possumus quod Jure possumus* : they were forbid to use the Sword for revenging themselves upon the Emperour. And St *Gregory* in his 1. Orat. says, *that the enemy of Christianity was defeated by Gods mercy, and the Christians tears, which were many, and shed by many*, τὸ το μᾶλλον ἐχούσης ἅπασιν τῷ δυνάμει κατὰ τὴν, *having no other remedy against that Persecutor.*

Besides, as they wanted not *Souldiers*, so neither valiant and experienced *Captains* that had the entire affections of the *Souldiers*, and which were approved *Christians*. *Jovianus*, *Valentinian*, and *Valens* (which three after the death of *Julian* were successively chosen Emperours) could each of them have engaged Legions to follow them: and how well the *Souldiers* were affected to them, you have seen already by their choice of *Jovian* presently on the death of *Julian*. So that it might be as truly objected that they wanted *Souldiers* and *Commanders*, as that they wanted *Arms*,

Castles and Fortresses. They had not indeed surprized any of the *Imperial Forts*, or held them out in *actual Rebellion* against *Julian*, (as you know who did in the *last Age* :) but many of them were Garisoned with *Christian Souldiers*, who doubtless would have declared for the *Christian Religion*, against the *Atheism* and *Persecution* of *Julian*, had not these renowned *Confessors* been restrained by the Command of Christ to *fear God and honour the King*,

Besides, I have two other Considerations of geat weight with me, that it was not for *want of Strength*, or *doubt of Success*, that the Christians did not oppose *Julian*:

As first, it was usual with the Roman Souldiers upon any disgust with their Emperours, to kill their Emperours, and set others in their Thrones. Six of the twelve *Cæsars* were slain, *as some Historians account* ; but never was there such a thing done by the *Christian Souldiers* : For after such time as the Roman Strength was put into the hands of Christians, they never deposed any one of their Emperours, though there wanted no *Strength* on their parts, nor *Provocations* on their enemies part, many of them being Persecuting *Arians*. And though *Julian* by his rashness, against the advice of *Sallustius*, a man of great experience, and generally beloved of his whole Army,

Army, was resolved on the *Persian War*, and had foolishly exposed them to great hazards and danger, by his following the directions of a Renegado *Persian*, who led them into a barren, and almost inaccessible Country, and burning his Ships that might have served for a retreat; yet was there no *Associating* or banding against him in his life-time; but as soon as he was dead, they all professed themselves Christians, and chose a Christian Emperour.

Secondly, The power which the Clergy had with the People, who could hardly restrain then from tumults and fighting in their defence, is another Argument with me: for even at that time *Athanasius* convened in the great City of *Alexandria*, a great number, not onely of the Bishops of the Greek Church, which were near at hand, but from *Italy*, *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and *Libya*; which argues that the affairs of Christianity were in no low or despicable condition. And if it be true that *Gregories* Father alone thought of braving the Emperour, what might the united Interest of these Bishops and the Souldiery in their Sees have done? But they thought it better to flee as *Athanasius* did, or betake themselves to their Spiritual Armory of *prayers and tears*, than to lift up a hand against *Julian*. And I cannot but think that *St. Gregory* was of the

same Judgment, when he wrote without any passion to the Citizens of *Alexandria*, being affrighted with the noise of Persecution, in his 17th Oration, to this effect: (NB.) *This is one of our Laws, and of those laudable ones most excellently ordained by the Spirit of God, who knew best how to temper his Law with a mixture of what was possible to us, and honest in it self, That as Servants should be obedient to their Masters, and Wives to their Husbands, and the Church to our Lord, and Disciples to their Pastors and Teachers: So should we also be subject to all higher powers, not onely for fear of punishment, but also for Conscience sake.* St. Gregory also in a Funeral-Oration, n. 20. for St. Basil, records an Answer of his to *Modestus* Governour of his Country under *Valens* an Arian Emperour---- *Where the Cause of God is in danger, we neglect other things, and look onely to him: Fire, Sword, and Beasts, are matters of rejoycing to us, rather than terrour: Reproach, threaten, and do to us what thou pleasest, employ thy Authority, let the Emperour also hear of this; Thou shalt not overcome nor perswade us to consent to Impiety.* So that both Gregory and Basil the Divine, and Basil the Great, which were no Mountebanks, but Great Doctors of the Church, were for the prescription of prayers and tears, although you would force them to the contrary.

I have reserved another Testimony of *Athanasius* for this place, being an account of the *Publick Prayers* made by himself for *Constantius* the Emperour, though he had removed him from his Pastoral charge. In his Apologie to *Constantius*. *Witness hereof* (saith he) *is first the Lord, who heard us, and granted unto you the intire Empire, which was left unto you by your Ancestors; then those who at that time were present: for the words I used were these onely; Let us pray for the welfare of the most religious Emperour Constantius; and the whole People with one voice cried presently, O Christ, be favourable to Constantius; and so continued praying a long time. And then he concludes, Let truth take place with you, and leave not the whole Church under a suspicion, as though such things (as tended to the death of Constans) should be thought on or written by Christians, and especially by Bishops. Athanasius* was also accused for celebrating Publick Prayers in the Church of *Alexandria*; which he confesseth he did, being urged thereto by the importunity of the People, that they might pray for the welfare of the Emperour in that Church which he himself had builded, being ready otherwise to go out of the City, and to assemble themselves in the Desarts. But thus he expostulates with the Emperour: *And you, O King, most beloved of God, where*

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would you have had the People stretch out their hands and pray for you? there where the Pagans did pass by, or in the place which bore your name, and which from the first foundation thereof all men did call a Church? And then he prays thus for the Emperour--O Lord Christ, who art indeed King of kings, the onely begotten Son of God, the Word and Wisdom of the Father; because the People have implored thy goodness, and by thee called upon thy Father, who is God over all, for the welfare of thy most religious servant Constantius, I am now accused. And then speaking to the Emperour, Thou do not forbid, but are willing that all men should pray, knowing that this is the Prayer of all, that you may live in safetie, and continually reign in peace.--And as for you, O Emperour, beloved of God, many years I pray you may live, and accomplish the Dedication of this Church: for those Prayers that are made therein for your welfare, do no way hinder the solemnitie of the Dedication. And whereas Athanasius was accused also for not obeying the Emperours Command to depart from Alexandria, he says, I do not oppose the Command of your Majestie; God forbid; I am not such a man as would oppose the very Treasurer of the Citie, much less so great an Emperour.--I was not so mad as to oppose such a Command of yours: I neither did oppose it, nor will enter into Alexandria, until you of
your

your humanitie be pleased I shall so do. If old Gregory was of another mind, it was but *one Doctors Opinion.* And I think our Author in the same case is a *Dissenter* from all *Christian Divines*, as well as from the *Church of England*; and from Mr. *Baxter* too. who saies, that *hurtful prayers and desires are seldom from God*: and he speaks it in the very case of *Julian*, p. 17. of his *Direct.* part 4.

I shall here add the example of that *Legion* which was called *Regius Bilius*, or the *Thundring Legion*, consisting of 6666 Christians, under *Marcus Aurelius*; of whom *Zephiline* speaks thus: *The Emperours Army being in great distress for want of water, and being compassed about by their Adversaries, the Præfect of the Prætorians told Marcus, That there was nothing which those Christians could not obtain by their Prayers: Marcus therefore desired the Præfect that he would intreat them to pray unto their God; which they had no sooner done, but the Lord by thunder and lightning discomfited their enemies, and with seasonable showers refreshed the whole Army, which otherwise might have perished.*

St. Ambrose was another of those *Lachrymists* which our Author derides; he lived under *Valentinian* the younger, another *Arian* Emperour; and yet, as *Ruffinus* saies of him, (*Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 26.*) *he did not defend himself*

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self by his band or weapon, but with fastings and continual watchings, and remaining under Gods Altar, by his Prayers prevailed with God to be a Defender both of him and his Church. I will give you St Ambrose his own words to his Church at Millain:--- I will never forsake you willingly; being constrained, I know not how to make opposition. Dolere potero, potero flere, potero gemere adversus arma Milites Gothos; Lachrymæ meæ arma sunt; talia enim munimenta sunt Sacerdotis: aliter NEC DEBEO NEC POSSUM RESISTERE. I can sorrow, I can weep, I can sigh against Arms, Souldiers, and Goths; Tears are my weapons; for such is the Munition of a Priest; in any other manner I OUGHT NOT, I CANNOT RESIST. And his People were much of the same mind, as he describes it, Epist. 33. or as in some Editions, the 13. Ad Marcellinam, What could have been better spoken by Christian men, than that which the Holy Ghost spake in you this day? Rogamus, Auguste, non pugnamus, We entreat, O Emperour. we fight not; we are not afraid. yet we entreat. This (saith St. Ambrose) doth become Christians, that both the tranquillity of peace be desired by them, and their constancie in faith and truth should not be deserted, no not with the peril of death. And in his Tract de Renovatione fidelium: Laude magis scribendum est, non tam male facere non posse,

posse, quam nolle; whereof St. Peter told us the sence long before, 1 Pet. 2. 19. *This is thank-worthie to God, if a man endure grief, suffering wrongfully*: And that man doth certainly suffer wrongfully, that hath the Laws of God and man on his side. But there is no Law of God for *resistance* of a lawful Magistrate. The Apostle did not calculate his Doctrine for the three first Centuries under Heathen, and that it should expire under Christian Magistrates: the Spirit of God foresaw that *Kings should be nursing Fathers* to his Church, and made good Laws for the securitie thereof; but he never meant that Princes should be resisted, though in some things they should act contrary to those Laws.

So that when our Author demands *by what Law we must die*? p. 81. and answers, *Not by the Law of God, for being of that Religion which he approves*: I answer, Yes, 1. By the Law of God, rather than make resistance; that we may bear testimony to that Law by suffering of death for our Religion, rather than to violate it by our *Rebellion*. 2. By the Laws of our Country too: for though by the favour of Christian Princes many good Laws are made for obedient Subjects, which the Prince may not violate without his great sin against God; yet hath the Supreme Authority

urity of the Land provided especially for the security of the Prince, who is a *Common good*. We see how in Nature *light* things do sometimes *descend*, and things that are *beavie* will *ascend*, against their natural propension, for the preservation of the Universe; and if private men do submit themselves to some Violencies and Injustice for the preservation of the publick Peace, it is but their duty: and if the Prince do invade *our Rights*, that is no ground for us to invade *his*, in whom the happiness of the *whole Nation* doth consist.

St. Bernard was another *Lachrymist*, Epist. 221. speaking to Lewis then King of France; *Whatever it pleaseth you to do concerning your Kingdom, Crown, and Soul, we that are the Children of the Church, cannot conceal the injuries done to our Mother; we will stand and fight even to death for our Mother, if need be; but Armis quibus licet; non scutis & gladiis, sed precibus fletibusque ad Deum: with such Arms as are allowed us; not with Sword and Buckler, but with Prayers and Tears to God.*

I could multiply many Testimonies in this kind; nor can any other than such as our Author produceth of some private *passionate* and *mistaken* Christians, be pretended to the contrary, until such time as the *Pope* erected the *Standard of Antichrist* against *Christian Kings*, which was after the time of *Gregory the Great*;

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Great; or, until *Presbyterie*, as a *Reformado*, fought under the *same Banner*.

Now to say as you do, in the close of this Chapter, p. 55. That *in that Age the best Prayers and Tears were those which did best execution upon an Apostate Emperour, and contributed most to his destruction*; and again, p. 96. *I do not find among the Ancients one single wish for Julian's Conversion, but all for his down-right Destruction*, is a very unchristian insinuation, especially for one who pretends to say the Prayer for the Royal Family as heartily as any man (in the Preface.)

P. 93. Our Author, by way of Postscript, tells us, he hath *many more exceptions against the Artillery of Prayers and Tears, than he can stay to insist on*. The first is a great exception indeed, which makes St. Gregory to overthrow all that our Author had quoted from him; for St. Gregory, p. 57. of the *first Inveective* (Eaton-edition) says thus: *Julian was hindered by the goodness of God, and the Tears of Christians, which were shed in great plenty by many who had this onely remedie against the Persecutor*. Now it is well observed by our Author, here are *no Prayers mentioned*; none at all for his *confusion*, no such Prayers as are *no better than Treason by our Law*, p. 95. Secondly, Gregory doth not tell us here that they had no *Arms, or Walls*, or that these *Lachrymists*

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chrymists cried, *CHUD EAT CHEESE AN CHAD IT*; but that they had this onely Remedy against the Persecutor, (*i.e.*) as our Author says, *They had no other way to help themselves*: And though here be no Prayers mentioned, yet in other places St. Gregory mentions Prayers, and was as great a *Lachrymist* at Prayer as any.

P. 96. Our Author parallels these Prayers with some, which he says were *made Treason in Queen Mary's days*, of which the Act says, (*Anno 1. and 2. of Philip and Mary, lib. 9.*) *That some prayed that God would turn her heart from Idolatrie to the true Faith, or else to shorten her days, or take her quickly out of the way.* Though they had used such Prayers in secret, they should methinks for their own sakes have forbore them in their *Conventicles*, where the Act says they were used, and where (as you would have it) such *murdering Prayers* are too frequent in our Age. And I doubt whether God might not have rejected such Prayers with a *Quis requisivit?* I believe verily it was never in our Saviour's mind, when he bids us to *pray for them that persecute us*; nor of his Apostle, when he enjoyns that *Prayers and Supplications, &c. be made for Kings and all that are in Authoritie*, 1 Tim. 2. 1. And whereas that Act saith, *Such a Prayer was never heard or read to have been used by any good Christian*
man

man against any Prince, though he were a Pagan; you think you have given presidents for it in the case of *Julian*, where the Christians prayed for his Destruction, not his Conversion. If (as you say) you pray as heartily for his R. H. as any man, in the Collect for the Royal Family, you cannot but mind his Conversion. And no president that ever I heard of will warrant any other Prayers, but to this effect: *ENDUE THEM WITH THY HOLY SPIRIT, INRICH THEM WITH THY HEAVENLY GRACE, PROSPER THEM WITH ALL HAPPINESS, AND BRING THEM TO THINE EVERLASTING KINGDOM, &c.* Here is nothing at all for Destruction, but all for Conversion. And though I know you are a daring man, yet pray do not think of reforming the *English Liturgie* by your *Julian* nor *Gregorian* Account, and teach us by your example to say our Prayers backward.

Gregory himself was so great a *Lachrymist*, that our Author, if he have any spark of Grace, or intention to repent, must needs weep with him, and (as he did) recant that as publickly, in other more serious Writings, which he delivered in a fit of Passion, or to shew his Rhetorick. Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. 17. p. 267. to the Citizens of Nazianzum, that were in great fear by reason of the displeasure

chrymists cried, *CHUD EAT CHEESE AN CHAD IT*; but that they had this onely Remedie against the Persecutor, (i.e.) as our Author says, *They had no other way to help themselves*: And though here be no Prayers mentioned, yet in other places St. Gregory mentions Prayers, and was as great a *Lachrymist* at Prayer as any.

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displeasure of their Præfect, perswades them to make use of these weapons, *ἡ δὲ ἐκείνη ὁδοὺς* Ps. 34. 17. *If thou turn to the Lord with mourning, thou shalt be saved: Te see* (saith Gregory) *how Salvation is annexed to Mourning*, *ἡ δὲ ἐκείνη ὁδοὺς* ἡ τῆς ἐκείνης, *nothing can come between your Prayers and the Blessings that you ask.* Doth the Spirit of God prescribe *Moun-tebank-Receipts* in the opinion of Gregory? or ought not he to repent that calls them *Moun-tebank-Receipts*?

Then minding them of the instability of Humane Affairs, and of the great benefit they may reap by their patience and submission to Gods Chastisements, he adds, -- *Let us submit our selves to God, to one another, and to those who have the Government on Earth*, (the word is *ὑποτασσάμεθα*, the same that St. Paul useth Rom. 13. 5.) -- *To God in all things, to each other in brotherly charitie, and to our Governours for the sake of good order.* (He adds) *it is a vainous and dangerous thing to exhaust the Clemencie (of the Ruler) by needing daily pardon.* Among other Laws of our Religion, we have this given us by the Spirit of God, who hath joyned that which we are able to do, to that which is just and honest, and hath established it by a most laudable Law; *That as Servants obey their Masters, and Wives their Husbands, and the Church Christ, and Disciples their*

their Pastors; so we also are commanded to obey the higher Powers, not onely for Wrath, but for Conscience-sake, as being bound to yield them Tribute; nor let us give occasion by our wickedness to bring the Law into contempt, and to provoke the revenging Sword, but rather being made better through our fears, endeavour to obtain praise from the higher Powers. Decies repetita placebit. I wish I could say of our Author, *Et hinc illæ Lacrymæ*; but our Author hath other thoughts: he thinks he hath much obliged the whole Nation, turning their Mourning into Mirth, and instructing them, after the new fashions of Rome and France, to exchange their Prayers and Tears for Fire and Sword, for Gun-powder, Pistols, Poniards: and therefore he first saies it was a Christian that killed Julian; and from Zozomen, that he was to be commended for the fact, p. 60, 61.

Sigebert, in his Chron. ad Anno 1088. tells us, That this noveltye, that I say not Heresie, was not yet risen up in the world, that the Priests of God (who saith to a King Remove, and maketh an Hypocrite to reign for the sins of a people) should teach the people that they owe no subjection to wicked Kings; and though they have given an Oath of Fidelity to them, yet they owe no Fidelity to them; nor are to be accounted perjured, though they fight against them; and that he that obeyeth the King shall be excommunicated,

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municated, and he that opposeth him shall be absolved from the guilt of Injustice and Perjurie. So that although these Ancient Bishops were never in Scotland, yet a man may think our Scotizing Presbyters have been at Rome; whose Principles and Practices run such parallels, as would fill a bigger Volume than I intend.

I shall onely shew, that the Fathers give us a better *Form* of praying for Kings than your *Directorie* doth; and the Law of God and Man enjoyns us *Uniformitie* in the use of it.

Tertul. Apol. c. 31, &c. You that say we regard not the welfare of Cæsar, look into our Scriptures, which command us to pray for our Enemies and Persecutors, especially that we pray for Kings, and all in authoritie: For with them the whole Empire is shaken, and we our selves as Members thereof are in hazard: therefore we sacrifice for the safetie of the Emperour, but to God; and as God hath commanded, with pure Prayer we pray for them and their Officers and Magistrates, for faithful Armies, seasonable Times, and a quiet Age, &c. Having our arms spread to God, let Hooks tear us, Crosses hang us, &c. a praying Christian is prepared for any torment: Come then, you Præfects, and force out our Souls praying for the Emperour.

Athena-

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Athenagoras in his Apologie to *M. Aurelius* : We pray for your Empire, that the Son (& ^{the} ~~anathema~~) as it is most just, may succeed the Father in the Kingdom, and that your Empire may increase and flourish ; all being subject to you : which would be much for our good, that we leading a quiet and peaceable life, may readily obey you in all your commands.

St. Cyprian to *Demetrian* : We pray day and night , propitiating and appeasing God for your peace and safetie, and that the Reign of *Valerian* and *Galien* may continue unshaken. So *Eusebius* observes, l. 6. c. 11. *Eccl. Hist.* of *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, That he prayed for the same Emperours , that their Kingdom might continue. *St. Sebastian* lived under *Dioctlesian* and *Maximian*, and sought for them, and prayed ; and assures us, the rest of the Souldiers did the like. The Priests of the Temples do possess your Majesties minds (saith he) with unjust surmises, as if we (the Christians) were Enemies to the Commonwealth ; whereas by our Prayers the Commonwealth is bettered and increased : for we cease not to pray for your Empire, and the safetie of the Roman Armie. See *Surius* on Jan. 20.

Optatus, l. 3. contra *Parmen*. The Apostle teacheth us to pray for Kings and those that are in Authoritie , etiamsi talis esset Imperator qui Gentiliter viveret, though he were a Pa-

gan. The Council of Paris 6th, p. 534. of the Second Tome of the French Councils : *If Jeremy the Prophet admonished to pray for the Life of Nebuchadonozor that Idolatrous King, how much more ought Supplications to be made for all Christian Kings? Aphaates a zealous Christian, being demanded by Valens an Arian Emperour, whither he went; I am going (saith he) to pray for your Empire. Theophilus Bishop of Antioch: I will honour the King, not adoring him, but praying for him.*

So likewise in the Preamble of the Council of Agatha, where the Catholick Bishops pray for an Arian King after this manner : *With Knees bended on the ground, we pray for the continuance of your Kingdom and People; that as you have granted us libertie to assemble our selves, so God would extend your Kingdom with Happiness, govern it with Justice, and protect it with Virtue.* Proœmium Synodi Agathensis.

When by the instigation of Pope Paschal the Second, the Emperour was unjustly deprived, the Church of Liege blame the Pope for it, saying, *If he were such as you describe him, yet should we suffer him to reign over us, because our Sins have deserved it; and such a Prince ought not to be repelled by taking Arms against him, but by pouring out our Prayers.*

Resp.

Their Prayers and Tears. IIII

Resp. Eccles. *Leoardenfis* ad Epistolam *Pasch.*
2d.

So that whether our Author will or no, it will still be owned as a *Maxime* among Christians, *Preces & lachrymæ sunt Arma Ecclesiæ.* Prayers and Tears are the Churches Artillery; and your new *MILITIA* will never prevail against this *COMMISSION OF ARRAT.*

An Answer to our Author's

C H A P. VII.

Julian's Death.

THIS Chapter is mostly the relation of two wonderful discoveries of *Julian's Death*; the one of a Christian Schoolmaster, (for it seems the Christians at *Antioch*, though it were the place that *Julian* most hated, had Christian Masters to instruct their Children) who being askt by *Libanius* the Sophister *what the Carpenters Son was doing*, answered, *He is making a Coffin*. And yet perhaps he thought no more of *Julian's* death than *Libanius*, whose expression of a *Carpenters Son* might give occasion to such a Reply.

Then for his other story of his double *St. Julian Sabba*, (for our Author hath Sainted him before and behind); *That he whilst he was praying should be in a Trance, and cry out, The wild Boar, the Enemy of the Lords Vineyard, hath suffered the punishment of his faults, and lies dead*: I cannot admit such Miracles into my Creed; but look on them no otherwise than such conjectures as *Julian* himself made, when at the fall of the man that lifted him up

to his horse, he cried out, *He that raised me up is fallen*; and as the Historian says, *Constantius died at that very time*. But the merriest Scene is behind, *p. 58*. That as soon as the Christians at *Antioch* heard of it, they had *publick joyful meetings, and had not onely Dances in the Churches and Chappels of their Martyrs*. (and then likely they had the musick of *Organs*, or some other instruments too) *but likewise in the Theatre they proclaimed the Victorie of the Cross*. Such Thanksgivings we had in this Nation at the Butchery of the *Royal Martyr*. But though they brought their *Horse-guards* into *St. Pauls*, I do not find they danced in the Churches.

The manner of his death our Author reports, *p. 59*. as an uncertainty, but jumps in his Opinion with the Heathen *Libanius*, that *he who killed him was a Christian*, although I have quoted two Authors who aver that it was done by the hand of an *Enemie*: Yet to serve his Hypothesis, that *it is lawful for a Christian to kill a Heathen Emperour*, he will needs cast it on the *Christians*.

Yet our Author, *p. 60*. says, *Truly this is a strange concession: but that which we may more wonder at, is, that Zozomen should justifie such a traiterous Assassination, as he doth (in these words, p. 60.) It is not improbable that some one of the Souldiers might take into consideration*

how the Heathens and all men to this day do still praise those who long since have killed Tyrants, as men that were willing to die for the Common Libertie, and defended in that manner their Country-men, Kinsmen, and Friends : and you can hardly blame him who shews himself so courageous for God, and for that Religion which he approves ; in Zozomen's words, *ὅτι ἐπὶ θεῷ*, (i. e.) *quam colebat*, referring not to God, but the *Votarie*. And then at this rate, the Murder of the two *Henries* of France, and that of our *Royal Sovereign* may be justified, by our Author's Rule, because they were slain as Enemies to that Religion which their Assassins professed : A very dangerous insinuation this, and not fit to be presented to such a Prince as *Theodosius* was. Yet that Author speaks of the Opinion of the *Heathen Greeks*, and of slaying Tyrants in the days of old (not after Christianitie prevailed, that teacheth a contrary behaviour.)

They were the *τῆς παλαιᾶς τυραννικῆς*, and they were Heathens that commended them : for the ancient *Greek Cities* had wholly rejected the Government of *Kings*, and set up *Aristocracie* or *Democracie*, so that in time the word *Tyrannus*, which in a good old sence signified a *King*, was by them generally used for a *Tyrant* or *Oppressor* ; and if any such attempted the reducing their *Popular Government* into
Monarchie,

Monarchie, they thought it lawful to kill them. But will this warrant a *Clement* or *Ravilliack* to assassinate their Prince; or a *High Court of Justice* to murder their King? If *Zozomen* or our Author mean this, I look on them as *Heathen Greeks* still, of whom it hath been observed,

Inter Regem & Tyrannum non discernunt Graii.

Lampridius wondered that no man slew *Heliogabalus* the Tyrant, *Cum Neroni, Vitellio, Caligulae, cæterisque hujusmodi nunquam Tyrannicida defuerit.* But no such thing was attempted by good Christians.

An Answer to our Author's

CHAP. VIII.

How they used his Memory.

DE mortuis nil nisi bonum : *That we ought to speak well of the dead, or nothing,* is a Rule commonly received by all men. To trample on a dead Lion is no point of valour, much less to rail at them that have received the just punishment of their sins. Such language therefore as Gregory useth, and our Author would have *inscribed on Julian's Pillars* long after his death, was as *unseasonable*, as it would have been *offensive* in his lifetime, viz. p. 63. *Thou Persecutor next to Herod, thou Traitor next to Judas, (onely thou hast not testified thy Repentance by hanging thy self) thou killer of Christ after Pilate, and next to the Jews thou hater of God.* These are very hard names in the mouth of a Divine, concerning a dead Emperour.

Well may our Author say he is wearie of such reproachful and ignominious Titles which the Christian Tongues lavishly bestowed on him. Doubtless you cannot find in all the rest of the Ecclesiastical Historians such as these: and
if

if an *Index expurgatorius* had past onely on such Sentences, it would have been less culpable than it is.

But what Protestants (say you) ever treated their worst Persecutors at this rate? Shall I tell you again what sort of Protestants treated not a Persecutor, but a meek and gracious Prince, at a far worse rate? And who ever called *Queen Mary Mad Bitch*? Sir, you do very ill to prepare such expressions for the *Vulgar*: Children are too apt to learn naughty things of their Teachers. Some have called a Queen of *England* by the names of *Proserpine*, and *Lupam Anglicanam*; which I forbear to English. But what little reason there was for all these passionate Expressions, you shew us in the next.

An Answer to our Author's

CHAP. IX.

Reflections on the Behaviour of those Christians.

JULIAN'S Persecution was but a Flea-biting to what the Christians formerly felt; a short and weak assault of the Devil; so that if any fell from Christianitie, they were ridiculously overcome; and if they persevered, it was no great matter to lose a Trade or Profession for their Religion;— and this was the greatest severitie (says our Author) of all Julian's Edicts.— To speak properly, he was rather a Tempter than a Persecutor; seducing some with Money, others with Places of Trust and Honours of all sorts; others by the witchcraft of his words, and by his own example.— And as for what he designed against Christianitie, it was far short of what other Emperours had executed. So far our Author, whom I must name, lest you should not think it his: For how could the man of such a Character deserve all those virulent expressions of Gregory (of which before) or those rudenesses of some Christians which follow in our Author? p. 66. *How do the Christians treat this Emperour, reproaching him, ruffling with*

with him, vexing every vein in his royal Heart, saying all their Prayers backwards, calling down vengeance upon his head, dancing and leaping for joy at his death, and insulting over his memory; calling him by the bloudest names of the Devil!

P. 67. and (pray mark them, they are our Authors words) *But for the name of Christians, he had better fallen among Barbarians.* And would our Author have these to be examples for true Protestants?

But doth not our Author also say his lesson backward, and write a Panegyrick for Julian, and *Invectives* against Christians? Or is it his meaning, that if a Prince incline (though but a little) to Tyranny or Irreligion, it is lawful to use him as those Christians did Julian? He doth plainly at once Calumniate the whole body of Christians and their Teachers in that Age, from the mis-behaviours of a few; and seeks to *debauch* the present Generation, which are too bad already.

Julian taught better Doctrine to them that were his Christian Subjects, (though he did it spitefully— *Not to avenge themselves, not to go to Law, nor render evil for evil, but pray for and wish well to their persecutors*) than you do for their behaviour towards their Princes, and that spitefully enough: for this (as you acknowledge) *is a right course to gloss away all their duty, and to break all the measures by which*
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all the Ancient and Suffering Christians have gone in all former persecutions. And doth it become a Christian, or a Divine, one that would be numbred among the more peaceable and stricter sort of his Brethren, to vent such things? What? to deride the prayers and tears, the faith and patience of Martyrs and Confessors, and to applaud the insolencies and extravagancies of the seditious Rabble? Let me whisper it softly in your ear: I think Julian the Apostate did less prejudice the Christian Religion, than such a one as Lucian the Scoffer. Mr. Baxter, Christian Direct. p. 20. I do not think Nero or Dioclesian martyred near so many, as the People turned loose would have done. Much more was Julian a Protector of the Church from popular rage, &c. And you shall sooner wash a Black-more white, than cleanse your self from that Contagious Leprosie which over-runs your whole Book: (and I pray God it hath not seized on your Heart), which you do in vain endeavour by the following Discourse; which I now consider.

P. 68. you say, *The truth of the Matter is this: Their case differed very much, and they were in quite other circumstances than the first Christians were. When Julian came to the Crown, he found them in full and quiet possession of their Religion, which they had enjoyed without interruption for almost fifty years, and which*
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was such an inestimable blessing, that they had plainly undervalued it, if they had not done their utmost to keep it: and then to have this treasure wrested out of their hands by one bred up in the bosom of the Church, who professed himself a Christian, and never pull'd off his Masque till it was too late for them to help themselves; this was enough to raise not onely all their Zeal, but all their Indignation too. Your almost saves your computation of fifty years wherein the Christians enjoyed a full and quiet possession of their Religion without interruption, from a great Untruth: for it was a good while after *Constantine* came to the Empire, that he did or could shew any great favour to the Christians, he being brought up under *Dioclesian*, and not being baptized himself until towards the end of his Reign. That he banished *Athanasius* the great Pillar of the Christian Religion, is not to be denied; nor that *Constantius* was himself an *Arian*, and promoted those destructive errours in such a manner, as that the Orthodox Bishops whom *Constantius* had banished, and were recalled by *Julian*, seemed to be in a better condition under him than under *Constantius*; many Bishops being banished for refusing to subscribe against *Athanasius* and his Creed in the Council of *Milain*: And *Athanasius*, with many others of his perswasion, lived in desert places until the death

death of *Constantius*. So that though the fifty years did run out at length ; yet in all *Constantius* his time, which was reckoned above twenty years, the Orthodox were mightily afflicted by the *Arians*, *Donatists*, and *Circumcellians*. And you may as well say the Church of *England* had a full and quiet possession of their Religion without interruption in the times of our late Confusion, when every *Mushrome-Sect* sprung up above it, as that it was so with the Primitive Christians during the time of *Constantius*.

I might add much more ; but desire the Reader to be satisfied with that one instance of the *Arians* dealing with old *Hosius* a Bishop of a hundred years old ; whom in a Council of theirs at *Sirmium* they so tormented, that they forced him to subscribe to them to save his life. And how ill it was with others, even in the days of *Constantine*, see the History of the *Donatists* lately printed.

But then for the poor Primitive Christians of all, they were born to Persecution ; they neither knew better, nor expected it--- The Laws of the Empire were alwaies in force against them-- their Religion at best was in the world but upon sufferance, as Abraham in the Land of Canaan, where he had no Inheritance, no not so much as to set his foot on. But as his afflicted Posteritie were afterward Lords of that Country, so after another

nother Egyptian Bondage, Christianitie was advanced to be the established Religion of the Empire. All this, and much more, is but Mr. Hunts Argument in other words: for p. 46. he says, *The Reformed Religion hath acquired a civil Right, and the protection of Laws: if we ought not to lose our Lives, Liberties and Estates, but where forfeited by Law, we ought much rather not to lose them for the profession of the best Religion, which by Law is made the publick National Religion.* And it is strange that some men of the same Religion in profession, can think (that notwithstanding) it makes no matter what is done to a man if he be Religious; but if he be not so, the least publick injuries and injustice may be resisted, vindicated, remedied, and by right defended by old Laws, or new ones to be made for that purpose. The Christian Religion was published when the whole world was Pagan, and therefore it was submitted to such usage as the Governours would give it. But when the Christian Faith had by Miracles of patience declared it self to be of Heaven, according to the Prophecies on that behalf, it took possession of the Empire, and Crowns and Scepters became submitted to the Cross; and the Christians acquired a civil Right of protection and immunity, which they ought not, they cannot relinquish and abandon, no more than they can destroy themselves. Such as thus perish, shall never wear a Martyrs

Crown, but perish in the next world for perishing in this. This will be interpretatively Crucifying Christ afresh, after that he is received up into Glory, (i. e.) after his Religion is exalted into Dignity, Honour, and civil Authority, &c.

Thus far *Simeon* and *Levi* are agreed; and these were precious hints to our *Julian*; for till he hit on this *new Notion*, there was nothing in the whole Book, that favoured of *Common sense*, or had any *shew of Reason*; but his Pages, as the Builders of *Babel*, misunderstand one another; and what one builds up, the other throws down; and after a long evaporation of smoak and ashes, and sometimes fire, (as *ancient Historians* relate of *Ætna*) our *modern Historian* makes the same Mountain to pour out such a deluge of *Water* as drowns all the Faith and Patience Christian men, and leaves onely *Julian* to triumph at the overthrow of Christianity.

If these men be not in too great haste, and their Guilt and Fears drive them not into Corners, I would expostulate with them a while: Can the Laws of men make void the Law of God? and have you Authoritie to *distinguish* where the Law of God makes no *distinction*? Doth not that speak plain, that we *must submit not onely to Masters that are good and gentle, but also to the froward*, 1 Pet. 2. 18. and to *Parents that correct us according*
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to their pleasure: and the believing Wife is to submit her self to her unbelieving Husband in every thing, Eph. 5. 24. not contrary to Gods Word? and is it not true, that what is said of the submission of *Servants, Children, and Wives*, the same may be said of *Subjects*? as St. *Augustine* affirms, alter *Gregory Nazianzen*. Was a *Heathen* Emperour to be submitted to in all things, and not a *Christian*? Shall the Priviledges which *Christian Princes* grant us, be used as *Weapons* to fight and rebel against them? Was it lawful for the *Catholicks* to rebel against *Constantius* when he was a declared *Heretick*, and by great violence promoted that damnable *Hereſie*, as *Bishop Uſſer* calls it, suppressing and banishing the *Orthodox*, and setting up the *Arians*? Is it not said, that if we suffer wrongfully, (*i. e.* against Law and Equity) and take it patiently, this is thank-worthy with God?

Can you without *Sacriledge* take away the Crowns from all the *Martyrs* that died ever since *Julians* time, and tell us they died like *Fools* or mad men, and were *felo's de ſe*, for not selling their Lives at a dearer rate, and like *Sampſon*, pull down the *Pillars* of the Empire, with an *ἰμὴν ἡλθὲν*, *If I must perish, let the whole world perish with me!* Or can you think that they *perished in the next world* for *perishing in this*, when *Christ* tells them,

he that loseth his life shall save it ? If it be unjust in the Prince to deprive us of our Rights against the Law of the Land, is it not much more so, for us to deprive him of his against the Law of God, as well as that of the Land too ? And have we not generally (I mean the Clergie at least) Subscribed, *That it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, (not of Religion, nor of the Laws) to take up Arms ? &c.* Non debet minor potestas irasci, si major praelata sit : *The Laws of the Land* must give place to the *Law of God*.

The contrary to all these, are the monstrous Consequences of your *new distinction*, that allows of *Rebellion* when we suppose the Laws of the Land to be on our side : I say, *suppose them* ; for Wars have been raised and maintained on such a *false Supposition*. And if when the Prince declares that he *doth and will govern by the known Laws*, we shall Remonstrate that he *doth not*, and suggest our groundless and unreasonable Fears and Jealousies that he *will not* ; who shall be Judge in this Case ? Shall the people take the Sword in their hands to cut this *Gordian-knot*, and cut us all in pieces ? We have (God be thanked) many good Laws for our security, and a gracious Prince that hitherto hath and will govern by them : but we have one great Law of God, and another of the Land, that

that though he should *not*, yet we may not rebel.

That *excessive commendation* which our Author gives of *Constantius*, makes me think he hath *exceeded* also in the *dispraise* of *Julian*, p. 70. *Never any man in this world set his heart so much upon any other thing, as he did to see the Christians flourish, and to have all the advantages of glorie and power: And neither conquered Nations, nor a well-govern'd Empire, nor great Treasures, nor excessive Glorie, nor being King of Kings, nor all other things which make up other mens notions of Happiness, did delight him so much, as to have the honour of bringing honour to the Christians, and of leaving them established for ever in the possession of Power and Authoritie.* And yet as it was said of *Naaman* that mightie man of *Valour*, But he was *a Leper*: so it is recorded of *Constantius*, he was an *Arian*, and persecuted the Church of God.

I think I have said enough already to confute the insignificant Instances produced by our Author, when I gave you the *more sober sense* of *St. Gregorie* himself, of *St. Basil*, *Ambrose*, and *Bernard*, all which lived when they had the *Laws on their side*, and the *best Religion in the world* to defend; and yet they durst not do it by the *Sword*, if they could have done it; for I shall not now question

their power; *Tertullian* did assert that of old, and the Learned *Hammond* hath put the truth of it out of question, in his Answer to Mr. *Stephen Marshal*.

But says our Author, p. 70. For *Julian*, who by his Baptism first, and entring into Orders after, and going to Church after that, sufficiently engaged himself to maintain Christianity; to endeavour on the other hand to dispossess them of their Freehold, is an insupportable injurie. It was so indeed: and I would have our Author consider, whether for a man that hath been received into the Bosom of the Church, and hath eaten of her Bread, and approved of her Doctrine, to become an Apostate from that holy Profession, and expose that Church and Christianity it self to scorn and contempt, be not to out-do *Julian*.

I shall desire the Reader patiently to look on, while I remove those few Blockadoes which our Author hath laid in my way; and then I shall attack that *enchanted Castle*, wherein those two *Giants* think themselves so secure, as to laugh at all opposition that can be made against them. That of *Juventinus* and *Maximus*, mentioned a third time in p. 72. is already level'd: if there were a Sham-plot against them, our Author seems to be one of their accusers for *talking too boldly* against the
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Emperour, which they utterly denied. A second *Sham-plot* was of *Sacrilege*, p. 72. but I see no man concerned in that; neither shall I fight with *Shadows*, as our Author doth.

P. 73. Old *Bracton* is conjured up; and he presently flies in the face of the *Conjurers*, and tells them, that *when Laws are made by the consent of the people and the Royal Authority, they cannot be altered or destroyed without the joynt consent of all those by whom they were concerned*: And yet the *Laws of Queen Elizabeth for keeping her Subjects in due obedience* are exploded as some of the *Grievances of the Nation*. With what face can they plead the *Laws of the Land* for their security, who daily violate and contemn them, and teach others to do so?

And in p. 74. our Author is surpris'd with the *Theban Legion*, which appeared to him as a *Legion of Noon-day Devils*; and he wonders who should raise them up: he cries out as that *Legion*, *Matth. 8. 22. Art thou come to torment us? What have we to do with thee, O Theban Legion! what have we to do with their Example!* No, I'll warrant my Author he shall never *die for his Religion* as they did, he hath parted with that already for fear of what might come. And this *Theban Legion* is such a terrible *immortal Army*,

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as will defeat all *Rebels*, to the worlds end. *Are we* (says our Author) *to go to Mass to-morrow, or else to have our Throats cut ?* No ; nor are we to cut our *Princes* Throat to day, for fear lest he should compel us to go to Mass to-morrow. Such fears were as groundless in the daies of *Charles the First*, as of *Charles the Second*, yet we see what was then done.

Again, *Are we under a Sentence of Death according to the Laws of our Country, if we do not presently renounce our Religion ?* No ; but if we presently renounce our Religion, as our Author hath done, and then contrive a *Rebellion*, we are under a Sentence of a two-fold death ; one by the *Law of God*, and another by the *Law of Man*. The *Thebæan Legion* so frightened our Author, that he cannot get them out of his mind : *Poor men they were !* to sacrifice or be sacrificed ! They never heard the Doctrine of *Resistance* preached to them, but professed another Doctrine which they received according to the commandment of Christ, and practised after his example, suffering patiently for well doing. They never were in Scotland, to learn that there was a reward due to them that should kill tyrannical Princes : They never had the examples of a *Christians* killing Julian, and being commended for it in *Ecclesiastical History*. These glo-

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rious lights and atchievements were reserved for our *blessed Age*, whereof (notwithstanding) the Scripture foretold, that *in the latter days there should be traitors, beady, high minded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God, having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof.* And many such who have called themselves *good Protestants*, have made a shift to die in *Rebellion* under the pretence of their *Religion*.

But the comfort is, as our Author says, *That can never happen to us, but by our own treachery to our Religion, in parting with those good Laws which protect it, and in agreeing to those that shall destroy it.* What needs then all these *Celeusma's* and barbarous clamours of *Ho-up* against a *Popish Successor* which may never come; or if he should, can never do us hurt without our own consent? *Queen Mary* her self could not so much as out a *Parish-Priest*, till she had procured a *Parliament* for her turn; and still kept the *Church-lands*, and by *Parliament* had the *Supremacy* settled on her as far as any of her *Predecessors* enjoyed it. And if *such things can never happen but by our treachery in parting with those good Laws as protect our Religion, and agreeing to such as shall destroy it*, why are we so willing to part with those, whereby that otherwile-impregnable *Fortress* and *Bulwork* against *Poperie*

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Popery is preserved, and to make new ones for *Comprehension*, *Indulgence*, and *Toleration*, even of *Popery* it self, as well as other *Sects* and *Factions* ? which is the ready way cast up by our Adversaries to bring us to confusion. When it is come plainly to this Dilemma, That we must agree to obey our Superiors, or perish ; we must agree among our selves as *Brethren*, or be swallowed up by a common *Enemie* : Yet no Law of God or man can prevail to keep us in obedience to our Governours, or *Charity* among our selves ; Is not this as neer a way to ruine, as our Adversaries can chalk out ?

P. 76. *It is a general Notion among the Fathers, that we ought to spare our persecutors, and not suffer them to be guilty of Murder : Gregory gives that as a very good reason of Marcus his flight from Arethusa. Gregory gives a better reason than that, viz. that he was moved by that Precept of our Saviour, Matth. 10. 23. When you are persecuted in one City, flee ye to another ; and p. 88. he foresaw, that if he had tarried, the people might for his defence have risen against the Officers and Souldiers of the Emperour ; and if they had died then, they had been selo's de se. To prevent their destruction therefore, as well as the guilt of their Persecutors, he quietly yielded himself into their hands ; and though he endured great*

great torments, yet, as if he had been a *felo de se*, is he as little pitied by Gregory as by his Persecutors: for Gregory having noted that this Mark was one of them that saved Julian's life when Gallus was slain; for this one thing (saith Gregory) *διὰ τούτων ἵσταται καὶ πλείονα παρὰ τούτων ἔσθ' ὡς, he suffered those things deservedly, and was worthy to have suffered more.* This Passive Obedience is an abominable thing!

In the same p. he relates a passage of Chrysostom, and infers from it, that David meant no more than onely to prevent the effusion of innocent blood, as appears by the several opportunities he had to cut off Saul, but the sense of his duty made him to abhor the least thought of it. This I like so well, that I shall transcribe a little more concerning David's behaviour towards Saul, out of the excellent Book of Homelies. P. 287. Now let David answer to such demands as men desirous of Rebellion do use to make: Shall not we, being so good men as we are, rise and rebel against a Prince hated of God, and Gods enemy? and therefore likely not to prosper either in war or peace? but to be hurtful and pernicious to the Commonwealth? No, saith good and godly David, Gods and such a Kings faithful Subject: and so convicting such Subjects as attempt any Rebellion against such a King, to be neither good subjects nor good men. But say they, Shall

Shall we not rise and rebel against so unkind a Prince, nothing considering and regarding our true faith and painful Service, nor the safeguard of our posterity? No, saith good David, whom no such unkindness could cause to forsake his due Obedience to his Sovereign. Shall we not, say they, rise and rebel against our known mortal and deadly enemy that seeks our lives? No, saith good David, who had learned that lesson which our Saviour afterward plainly taught, that we should do no hurt to our fellow-subjects, though they hate us and be our enemies; much less to our Prince, though he were our enemy. Shall not we assemble an Army of such good fellows as we are, and by hazarding our lives, and the lives of such as stand with us, and withal hazarding the State of our Country, remove so naughty a Prince? No, saith godly David; for I when I might, without assembling force, without tumult, or hazard of any mans life, or shedding a drop of blood, have delibered my self and Country of an evil Prince, yet would I not do it. Are not they, say some, lusty and courageous Captains, that do venture to kill and depose their King, being a naughty Prince, and their mortal enemy? They may be as courageous as they list, yet, saith godly David, they can be no good or godly men that so do; for I not onely have rebuked, but commanded him to be slain as a wicked man, which slew King Saul my enemy,

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though he being weary of his life, desired that man to slay him. What shall we then do to an evil and unkind Prince, an enemy to us, hated of God, hurtful to the Commonwealth? &c. Lay no violent hands upon him, saith good David, but let him live until God appoint and work his end by natural death, or in War by law-ful enemies, not by traiterous Subjects. So far our Homily: and if good and godly men answered *No* to all these Questions, they are not of the *godly party*, though they call themselves so, who answer *Tea* to them; although it be not against a wicked, malicious, and Apostate Prince, as *Saul* was, but a pious and gracious one.

P. 77. *We are to suffer persecution if need be, as St. Peters words are, and not else. Now I humbly conceive, seeing the Writ De Hæretico comburendo is taken away in time, and the Laws protect us in our Religion, it is a needless thing to go to Smithfield, and there be burnt for an Heretick.* It is better, if it pleased God, that we should die as *Hereticks*, if with *St. Paul* we truly worship God in a way that is so called, than to go to *Tyburn* and be hanged as *Traitors* and *Regicides*--- For, though that Law be taken away, yet the Law of God stands firm, which enjoyns us to *submit our selves not onely for fear, but for Conscience sake; and the* *in St. Peter* in the case of our sub-

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submission for *Conscience sake* as well as for *fear of wrath*, is determined by *St. Paul* with an *And* ye *must needs be subject*.

P. 77. *And so far it is fit to inform the Popish Crew; lest they should be mistaken in the good Protestant Religion of our good Church, as Coleman calls it. I pray let them not be informed that we obey more for fear than for Conscience sake; No, nor that we are afraid to dye for our Religion if God call us to do it. As to your Parenthesis that we have no apprehension of persecution from any other quarter; I tell you, we have felt a greater persecution in our Age from Geneva, than from Rome; and if the one have since the Reformation in this Nation killed a thousand, the other have slain ten thousand.*

Your next Reflection is on the *Pulpit-law* (as you say the Lord *Faulkland* called it) of *Sibthorp* and *Mamwaring*, and *complained it had almost ruined the Nation*. That noble Lord was indeed a great lover of his Religion and Country, and therefore was an enemy to *Arbitrary Government*. But when he perceived that the outcry against *Arbitrarie power* in the *King*, was made with a designe to grasp it into *other mens hands*; and they began to exercise it not onely on the Gentry, Clergie, and Nobility of the Land, but the Royal Family also; he repented, and so faithfully adhered

hered to the King in defence of his Authority, that he lost his life in the Quarrel. It was the *Pulpit-law* in 41. and 42. that destroyed us, and brought in Arbitrary Power.

But how near doth our Author come to put a *border of Treason* on his *impolitick discourse*, p. 78. where he says, *The Arbitrary Doctrine of those times*, (to which both he and Mr. *Hunt* impute the beginning of the Late War) *did not bring any great terrour with it; it was then but a Rake, and served onely to scrape up a little paltrie passive money: But now it is become a Murdering-piece loaden with I know not how many bullets.* Who are they, I wonder, that preach up such an *Arbitrarie Power*? or who are they that make such a *Murdering-piece* of it? Is it not rather a *Fiction* of some men, who would find a pretence for a second War?

For if, as Mr. *Hunt* says, p. 52. *That the Panick fear of a change of the Government that this Doctrine* (to wit, of Arbitrary Power before 41.) *occasioned, and the Divisions it made among us, was the principal cause of the Late War*, is it not evident that the same fears are now made Panick or Popular, to prepare the hearts of the People for another War? What else mean the *bleatings of the Sheep*, and the *lowing of Oxen*? the *Vulgar Murmurs*, and loud Cries of the *Multitude*, as if it were intended we should

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should be ruled by a *Standing Armie*, and *That his Majesties Guards are a grievance*; *That the dissolution of a Parliament gave us cause to fear that the King had no more business for Parliaments*? *Hunt*, p. 22. and p. 60. of our Author, *That Parliaments should sit till they have done that for which they were called*, (*i. e.* says our Author in his Marginal Note) *till all Grievances are redressed, and Petitions answered*. And then for ought I know, they might sit for ever, and so no more need of a King. What means the *denying him a Supply*, when *Tangier* was like to be lost? and not onely with-holding their *own*, but denying him to dispose of his *Credit* or *Revenues* for his just occasions? What mean our new *Associations* and *Banding* into *Parties*, and advice even to the Clergie, *not to suspend all the legal securitie they have upon the life of our present King*? *Hunt*, p. 49. All these strongly argue that they have a suspicion of *Arbitrary Power*; and that, by our Author's confession, was in 41. (and therefore may be suspected to be made use of now as) an *incitement to Rebellion*.

And though our Author (p. 78.) confesseth, *That the malignitie of this Doctrine cannot be discovered under his Majesties gracious Reign*; yet he thinks fit to put him in mind of the *Securitie* he hath given the Nation by his *Coronation-Oath*, which all Protestant Princes value

value & look upon as Sacred, and likewise of many gracious Promises that he will govern according to Law. All this caution argueth more than Suspicion, it looks like an Accusation; though I know no defect, but the neglect of executing the Laws against Transgressors. But if it do not fall out in his Majesties Reign, it will appear in its colours, and we may feel the sting of it, if it please God so sharply to punish us for our sins, as to let us fall under a Popish Successor, p. 78, 79. We have (I confess) deserved such a punishment, for kicking against our Protestant Princes: but by the blessing of God, we may not have such a One: For who shall be King or Queen of this Realm of England hereafter (you tell us) none but God himself knows, p. 21. of the Preface.

But you tell us of another *may be*; the Successor *may be a Papist*, and then he *may* persecute: but he *may not* be; or if he be so, yet I have proved he *may not* persecute; and our Author hath granted, p. 75. That it can never happen but by our own Treacherie, &c. Such a formidable Persecution as you suggest, is a thing impracticable, and morally impossible: it hath never yet been acted by any Prince, Papist or Heathen: the *Marian* Tempest did not so destroy Protestants, though it had been but newly planted, but in Queen Elizabeth's Reign it grew up again, and co-

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vered the Land in a few days. Now to disturb our *Peace* and *Settlement* with two such *may be's* as are more likely *may not be*; to suppose such things as are morally impossible, is unreasonable, and to *fear where no fear is*, (saith Mr. *Hant*, p. 250.)

But such suppositions as our Author makes, ought not at all to be supposed: for *there is greater hurt to be feared from them*, (as Mr. *Faukner* says, p. 545. of his *Christian Loyaltie*) *than from the thing supposed*: since it is much more likely that such designs should be imagined and believed to be true, when they are false (as they were in the unjust Outcries against our late gracious Sovereign) than that they should be certainly true: And every good man, yea every reasonable man may have as great confidence that no such Case will really happen, as can be had concerning the future state and condition of any thing in this world. For which he there gives many Reasons, to which I refer the Reader, and proceed.

P. 80. In this case (says our Author) *all Protestants cannot flie---and many may be persuaded not to flie*. And men are taught that the Gospel doth prescribe no other remedy but flight, allowing no other means between denying and dying for the Faith. It is certain this is the special remedy prescribed by our *Saviour*, though there be other means which

which may be as effectual as this ; *Prayers* and *Tears*, and *Fasting* and *Humiliation* have done mighty wonders. When God by *Joel* (cap. 22.) threatned his People with an *Enemie great and strong*, there hath not been ever the like, neither ever shall be, even to the years of many *Generations* ; the chief means prescribed by God himself, you may see was this, *vers. 12. Therefore now, saith the Lord, turn ye unto me with all your heart, and wit' fasting, weeping, and mourning : who knoweth if he will return and repent, and leave a blessing behind him ? And vers. 17. Let the Priests the Ministers of the Lord weep between the Porch and the Altar, and let them say, Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thy Heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them. Wherefore should they say among the heathen, Where is their God ? Then will the Lord be jealous over his Land, and spare his people.* I hope our Author will not deride such *Lachrymists* : if he do, *Solomon* tells him who will laugh at him when calamitie comes on him. *Prov. 1.*

Again, *Supplications* and *Petitions* to our *Kings* may have the desired success : for hitherto the *Kings* of *England* have been merciful *Kings* ; nor have any of them taken delight in shedding blood, or designed the general ruine of their people ; their own interest being bound up in theirs. *Magnanimo, satis est prostrasse.*

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Besides, it is the duty of the Chief Clergie to *reprove them with meekness and lowliness*, to mind them of a *Superiour Potentate* who will judge *all men without respect of persons*; which is excellently done by *Gregory, Orat. 17. You govern together with Christ, and reign with him; you are the Image of God, and should imitate him in shewing mercie, and not the Devil in exercising crueltie; but should remember that he hath a Master in Heaven, who will so judge him as he doth the people committed to his charge.* That whole Oration is worthy your perusal. When *Theodosius* had made a great slaughter among the *Thessalonians*, to the number of seven thousand, and coming afterward to the Church, *St. Ambrose* shuts the doors against him, and minds him of his Crueltie; and tells him, *That from dust he came, and to dust he shall return: Let not therefore the brightness of thy clothes hide from thee the weakness of thy flesh that is under them. Thy subjects are of the same metal with thee, and serve the same Lord---wilt thou with those hands which yet drop with the blood of Innocents, receive the bodie of the Lord? Depart, and refuse not this sentence which the Lord doth ratifie in Heaven.* This wrought so with him, that he repented, and with much ado obtained *Abolution*.

The Church of *Liege* wrote an Epistle to Pope *Paschal*, when he perswaded *Robert Earl* of
of

of *Flanders* to rebel against the Emperour, and invade his Dominions, wherein they told the Pope, That *Princes must be admonished and reprov'd gently; and if they will not amend, are to be left to the just judgment of God.* Omne sub Regno graviore Regnum---Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis.

To the Assertion of an *unnamed* Doctor, That the Gospel prescribes no other remedy but *flight* against the *Persecutions of a lawful Magistrate*, our Author answers, p. 80. *It is one thing what the Gospel prescribes; what it allows, another.* As if the Gospel did *allow* any thing contrary to its *Precepts*: This is that the Author would be at: for none ever questioned but things in their nature *indifferent* and *expedient*, are *allowed* by the Gospel without an exprefs *command*. But that which this Author contends for, is *Resistance of a lawful power in case of persecution*; which is against many exprefs *Precepts* of the Gospel. The *Gnosticks* held it lawful (for the avoiding of persecution) to *deny Christ*, and to *comply with either Jews or Gentiles*. And to *resist the Ordinance of God*, rather than to *suffer persecution*, will be interpreted a denial and betraying of our *Religion* (*i. e.* of *Christ* himself). An Argument of so low a Spirit, as falls beneath the courage of a Heathen, or the hearty professors of any Religion. Seneca says of his

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wise man, *Placebit ei ignis per quem bona fides collucebit*; That he will embrace the Fire, rather than betray his Faith. And the Stoick says, *Tormenta à me abesse velim, sed si sustinenda fuerint, ut me in illis fortiter, animosè, honestè geram, optabo*. How is the valour of a Souldier known, but by following his Commander, with a generous contempt of death? and shall the *Christian* Souldier that hath so good a *Captain*, be the onely coward, and follow his Matter at a *distance*, and utterly forsake him, when any Conflict is at hand?

When therefore he demands *by what Law we must die*; I answer, By the Law of God: rather than resist a *lawful Power*, we must submit to the Will of God and our Saviour, who have promised, that *he that loseth his life shall preserve it*, Luke 17. 33. and *if we suffer, we shall also reign with him*, 2 Tim. 2. 12. And herein Christ himself hath given us an example, 1 Pet. 2. 21. *that we should walk in his steps; who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; yet when he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatned not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously*. And to such a *Passive Obedience* we are called, saith the Apostle. And it is not our calling onely, but an act of Grace and good will, *given to us, as to believe in Christ, so to suffer for Christs sake*, Phil. 1. 29. which they

they that refuse to do, are said to *deny* Christ. So that there is little difference between *resisting* the Command and Ordinance of Christ, and *denying him* : the sin is the same, and the punishment also ; which St. Paul says is *Damnation*.

P. 82. As for the Kings *Prerogative*, I dare not be so bold with that as you are: the Disputes between *that* and *Privilege* have cost us dear already : if it were as well known as other parts of the Law are, you would not make so bold with it, though you set light by some other Laws. But even other parts of the Law, which are very well known and approved, are yet *disobeyed, despised, and opposed*, (as well as the Kings *Prerogative*) and counted the *Grievance* of a great Partie.

P. 82. Old *Bracton* appears again, and is made to eat his own words: for whereas he had said of the King, That *every one is under him, and he under none but God*; and that he can have no equal in his Kingdom; for so he should lose his command, because one equal hath no power over another: now he is made to contradict himself, That *Rex est sub lege, quia lex facit Regem*, &c. which is utterly false, not onely because the Kings Predecessors came in by Conquest, but also because it is the *Royal Assent* that passeth all *Bills* into *Laws*. Mr. *Baxter* answers this, p. 14. part 4. of *Chri-*

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stian Directory: That *Lex* being taken for the signification of the Sovereigns will to oblige the Subject, the Law doth not make the King, but the King the Law. For which he quoteth Grotius, lib. 8. p. 195. *Neminem sibi imperare posse, à quo mutata voluntate nequeat recedere.* And Grotius quotes S. Augustine, *Imperatorem non esse subiectum Legibus suis.* And doubtless this is true in every *Free Monarchie*; as *England* is by *Historians* and *Lawyers* granted to be.

Now consider that *Bracton* wrote in the Reign of *Henry the Third*, when his *Earls* and *Barons* often confederated, and rose actual War against him, and made him to capitulate with them, having got the strength of the Nation in their hands; in favour of whom he seems to write, and calls them the Kings *higher Court*: not (as some) *higher than the King*, but than other of the Kings Courts. Yet was this *no Parliament*, for the *Commons* are not mentioned by *Bracton*. Now let any judge when *Bracton* was in the right, and when in the wrong opinion, by what followeth in the same Chapter: for as our Author blames the Doctor for not *reading on*; so do I much more blame him, because he came nearer to it. And thus *Bracton* says: *Si autem ab eo peccatur, locus erit supplicationi quod factum suum corrigat & emendat: quod si non fecerit,*
satis

satis sufficit ei ad pœnam quod Dominum expectet Ultorem : Nemo quidem de factis suis præsumat disputare, multo fortius contra factum suum venire. (i. e.) If the King do offend, there is libertie of petitioning that he would amend what is amiss : which if he will not do, there is no punishment for the King, but to expect God to be his Avenger : but let no man presume to dispute of his doings, much less to make opposition against what he doth. And this is agreeable to that Scripture, Eccles. 8. 4. Who may say to him, What dost thou ? If therefore we should grant it to be true what Bracton says, according to practice rather than Law, in those lawlesstimes ; yet Now, (as Plowden, as great a Lawyer as Bracton, says) the Case is altered : And the Oath of Supremacie against the Pope, which Bracton would by no means admit, and the Oath of Allegiance, and Act of Parliament for not taking up Arms on any pretence whatsoever, would have quite overthrown Bracton's Opinion, if he had not done it himself.

Our Author seems to apply the Premises onely against a Popish Successor ; and freely grants, that when he is lawfully possess of the Crown, he is inviolable, and unaccountable as to his own person, and ought by no means to have any violence offered to him, p. 84. To what purpose then hath he given Instances of reproach-

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proachful and provoking *Language*, *Prayers* and *Devotions* that helpt on his death, *all* for his *Destruction*, none for his *Conversion*; threatening to kick him, and (from *Zozomen*.) encouraging the *Affassination* of him, when *Julian* was in *quiet possession* of the Empire?

P. 94. You quote a Saying of *Asterius*: *How great a resort is there from the Church to the Altars?* &c. This is answered by Bishop *Bilson*, p. 502. of *Christian Subjection*: You find (saith he) that multitudes ran from *Christ* to *Paganism* after *Julian*, to *Arianism* after *Valens*; but do you find that the *Godly* did rebel against them? What presumption is this in you, to controul the *Wisdom* and *Goodness* of *God*, lifting his *Church* by the rage and fury of wicked *Princes*, and crowning those that be his, as patient in *Trial* and constant in *Truth*! Were you thoroughly perswaded that the hearts of *Kings* are in the hands of *God*, and that the hairs of our heads are numbered, so that no persecution can apprehend his, which he disposeth not for the experience of their faith, or recompence of their sins; you would as well honour the *Justice* of *God* in erecting *Tyrants* that our unrighteousness may be punished in this world, as embrace his *Mercie* in giving rest to his *Church* by the favour of good *Princes*. *Experto Crede*. This good Bishop says, *We have these twenty seven years endured all sorts of calamities that may besal men in exile,*
there.

therefore charge not us to be worldly minded, p. 501. See Mr. Baxter to this purpose, part 4. of the *Christian Directory*.

What our Author says concerning *Passive Obedience*, p. 85. &c. shall be considered anon.

P. 89. He is very angry that the Doctor should reflect on some dangerous Pamphlets, as that of the *History of Succession*, *The Dialogue between Tutor and Pupil*, and another that affirms; *That Parliaments should sit till they have done that for which they were called*. And contrariwise, so far commends the treasonable *Popish book of Doleman*, as that it was impossible to write a *Historie of Succession*, without borrowing from it. Their Tools are so dull, they must needs be beholding to the *Philistines* to set an edge on them upon their *Whetstones of Lyes and Forgeries*. *Quam bene conveniunt!*

P. 91. The *Thebaean Legion*, like a *malus Genius*, meets him again; and for their sakes, he is resolved rather to die a *Murderer* than a *Martyr*: for p. 85. he puts the Case, though he confesseth it to be a rare Case: for bad Princes seldom stoop so low as to be Executioners of their own cruelty. But the Question is, if they should, *How far, notwithstanding, men may endeavour to save themselves without breach of their Allegiance, and of that true Faith and Loyalty which they ought to bear of life and limb,*

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and terrene honour. If they have a mind to know, they may ask advice, (i. e.) How far, notwithstanding the Oath of Allegiance, men may resist their Prince. For the Authors part, he is resolved already, but will not discover to every one what is in his heart : if he thought it unlawful to resist the Kings person, in case he should offer violence to a Subject, he would certainly have published it; but his Silence speaks his Consent. Now if the King be forced for his defence to take an armed Guard, as our Late Sovereign was; And our Author with other Malecontents that think themselves highly wronged, because they are not rewarded according to their deserts, should meet him with another Armed Company, and fight him; he may kill his person, without breaking his Allegiance for bearing true Faith and Loyalty of life and limb, or any way injuring the King : for the King may be at Westminster when they are fighting against him in the Field : And it is not Julian they resist, but the Devil that is in him. And yet I suppose that our Author, as the Law requires, hath declared his abhorrence of that traiterous Position of taking Arms by his authoritie against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him. But where shall we go to be resolved in this weighty Case? shall we go to the Romish Casuists? they are positively for killing

the King; Mariana, and Bellarmine, and many others, own it in divers cases. But we need not go so far; our Author hath, *tanquam ex Tripode*, determined it, in the Case of Julian, that such a King is to be pursued, as if he were a Midnight-Thief, or a Highway Robber, p. 73. and 'tis as lawful to destroy him, as for a hungrie Welsh man to eat up his Cheefe, and cry, *Ehud eat meer an ehud it*, p. 95. To this end Our Author quoteth Gregory calling on the Angels whose work it was to destroy the Tyrant, who had not killed a Sihon King of the Amorites, nor an Og the King of Basan, but (in so doing) had killed the Dragon, an Apostate, the great Designer, the common Enemy and Adversary of all, with an &c. p. 23. And again, p. 61. If any one had killed Julian, he was not to be blamed (no, but to be rewarded rather) as one who shewed himself so courageous for God, and for that Religion which he approves. St. Chrysostom in his first Homily of David and Saul, teacheth another Doctrine: If we reverence and fear those Magistrates (saith he) that are elected by the King, although they be wicked, although they be Thieves and Robbers, although they be unjust; and whatever they be, not despising them for their wickedness, but standing in awe of them for the dignitie of him that did elect them; much more ought we thus to do in the Case of God. And Gregory Nazianzen speaks

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speaks home to the Case, in that 27 Oration p. 171. *Continue faithful to your Kings : but first of all to God, and for him to them also, to whom you have been committed by him.* And *Elias Cretensis* gives this Reason for it ; *Because if ye fear God, and studiously observe his Commandments, you will be faithful also to your Kings for Gods sake.* Now *Julian's* Souldiers as our Author says, p. 8. were *men principall in the true Religion*, and therefore thought *Julian* stood in fear of them, as he says ; yet they never did him hurt by *Open Rebellion*, or *Secret Conspiracies* : nor is our Author too old to learn of them.

P. 92. He sums up the strength of what hath been said, in these Five

PROPOSITIONS.

ANSWER.

1. *Christianitie destroys no mans Natural or Civil Rights, but confirms them.*

2. *All men have both a Natural and Civil Right and Property in their Lives, till they*

1. *Christianity obligeth us to prefer our Spiritual and Eternal Rights above our Temporal and Civil.*

2. *Our Lives are to be parted with in obedience to Gods Laws, though not for have*

have forfeited them by the Laws of their Country. feited by the Laws of our Country.

3. When the laws of God and of our Country interfere, and it is made death by the Law of the Land to be a good Christian, then we are to lay down our Lives for Christ sake. This is the onely case wherein the Gospel requires Passive Obedience, namely, when the Laws are against a man. And this was the Case of the first Christians.

4. That killing of a man contrary to Law, is Murder.

5. That every man

3. It is not the onely Case wherein the Gospel requires Passive Obedience, when the Laws are against a man. There was no Law of the Romans by which Christ might be put to death; yet when he suffered, he threatned not, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps, 1 Pet. 2. 19, 20, 21. and hereunto we are called. To what? to suffer, though wrongfully, v. 19. and take it patiently for Conscience sake towards God.

4. If we suffer death wrongfully, it is Martyrdom, and acceptable to God, though it be Murder in our Enemies.

5. We may so by
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is bound to prevent our appeal to the Supreme Murder, as far as the Law allows: and ought St. Paul, when he was not to submit to be like to be condemned murdered, if he can contrary to Law, appealed to Cæsar, having help it.

all the Law on his side, Acts 25. 8. Neither against the Law of the Jews, nor against the Temple, nor yet against Cæsar have I offended: yet doubtless if Cæsar had condemned him, he would have patiently submitted, after the Example of his Master, though he could have had Legions of Angels to defend him.

P. 93. Now I desire those men who of late have thundred in all publick places with the Thebæan Legion, to keep that complete and admirable Example till they have got another Maximian, and till that Maximian hath got authority at once to cut 6666 throats.

I think there was never more need than now, to press that noble Example: for though we

we have not a *Maximian*, but another *Constantine* set over us; no *Julian* that commands us to sacrifice to *Idols*, but One that makes it his business that we should all *with one consent worship God and our Saviour in the beauty of Holiness*. Though he have all the *Laws of God and man* to secure him from malicious and violent men, yet how are the tongues of wicked men *sharpned* against him, (and all his *Ministers in Church and State*!) How are all those *devilish arts of Calumny and Reproach*, the *fears and jealousies of Arbitrary Power and Popery* renewed, which encouraged a *Rebellious multitude* to the cutting of the throats not of *one Legion*, but of *twenty at least*; and the cutting off the head of a most *incomparable Prince* too! Would the *Thebæan Legion*, that laid down their lives at the Command of a *Maximian*, have muttered a word against so good a Governour? And when the *same things* are attempted a *second time*, shall we not bring forth the *Thebæan Legion* to withstand such impious practices, and rise up in judgment against them, who, notwithstanding the *Laws of God and our Country* too, would not onely *decimate* us, but, if it were in their power, *destroy* us (as *Nero* wisht that the Citizens of *Rome* had but one Neck, that he might cut them all off) at a stroke? I would gladly add the consideration of the

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Thundering Legion to this of the *Thebæan*: They by their *Prayers* obtained *relief* from Heaven, and *Victory* too, for the *Army* of a *persecuting Heathen*; we are taught to pray for the *Confusion* of a *Christian Prince*. But this shall suffice.

Under those cruel Emperours, *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, that most illustrious example of *Passive Obedience* presenteth it self to our view, which the *Thebæan Legion* shewed, consisting of 6666 valiant Christians; the *tenth man* of whom when *Maximian* had caused to be executed for refusing to slay their Fellow-Christians, and to offer *Sacrifice* to his false Gods; *Mauritius* taking the rest of the Legion aside, used this Oration unto them (as *Eucherius* Archbishop of *Lions* relateth in the *Acts* of their *Martyrdom*.)

I congratulate your Vertue, most worthy Fellow-Souldiers, that for the love of Religion the Command of Cæsar wrought no fear at all in you. You have seen your Fellow-Souldiers, in a manner with rejoycing minds, to have been delivered up to a glorious death: How did I fear lest any of you, as it was easie for armed men to do (under pretence of Defence) should by lifting up his hands give interruption to their most blessed Funerals? I had now readie at hand for the forbidding this attempt, the Example of our Christ, who by the Command of his own mouth --

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Put up thy Sword which was unsheathed by his Apostle: *teaching thereby, that the Vertue of Christian-Confidence is greater than all Weapons: here Christ our God did clearly Prohibit our minds and hands, that none with mortal hands should resist the Divine Work, but rather with ever-continued Religion add a consummation to the work begun. Hitherto we have read examples inserted into the Holy Scriptures, but even now we our selves have beheld whom we ought to imitate.*

After this, *Maximian* having commanded a second decimation of those that remained, (among which it is likely that *Mauritius* suffer'd) *Exuperius* taking the Ensigns of his Legion, spake thus:

My most worthy Fellow-Souldiers, I hold as you see the Ensigns of a secular warfare; but to those Arms I provoke you not: I excite not your Courage and Valour to such wars as these; another kind of fight is to be chosen by us. It is not by these Swords that you can make your way to the Kingdom of Heaven.

And then wisheth this Message might be returned to the persecuting Emperour:

We are thy Souldiers indeed; but withal Gods Servants: to thee we owe our employment in the War, to him our Innocence: from thee have we received the reward of our labour, to him we are beholding for the beginning of our life: we can-

not so follow thee in this, though our Prince, as to deny God who is our Maker, and, whether thou wilt or wilt not, is thine also— As for us, even this necessitie of our Life doth not drive us to Rebellion— Despair it self, which most strengthneth men in dangers, hath not been able to arm us against thee. Behold, we have our Weapons, and yet resist not, as willing rather to die than overcome; and chusing rather to perish innocent, than live Traitors. If to what thou hast already decreed against us, thou wilt add more, be it Fire Torture, or Sword, we are ready for it. *WE ARE CHRISTIANS*; and such as our selves we cannot persecute. Consider, O Cæsar, the courage of this Legion: our Weapons we cast away, and thy Executioner shall find our hands unarmed, but our breasts armed with the Catholick Faith. Kill us, down with us, without all fear; we offer our Necks to be cut off by the Swords appointed to slay us.

And so they were all cut in pieces, and each of them were more than Conquerours, obtaining a Crown and Kingdom infinitely more glorious than that of the Roman Empire.

Now suppose some Dissenting Apostate Chaplain of that noble Army, that had rather lose his Religion than his Life, and had
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more hopes to *divide the spoils of a Temporal Crown*, than to trust his Saviour for an entire *Eternal one*, had *beld forth* to them after this manner :

‘ My dearly beloved Brethren, fellow-Souldiers and fellow-Saints, we have hitherto hazzarded our Lives under a *Pagan* and *Tyrannical Prince*, who hath employed us as a *Forlorn Hope* on all desperate designs, purposely to destroy us ; and though he be drunk with the bloud of our Brethren now spilt before our Eyes, yet doth he thirst after ours also, having appointed us as so many Sheep for the Slaughter. Hearken, my beloved, the Kings of the Earth ever were, and ever will be, Enemies to the King of Heaven : It is not I, but the Spirit of God by *David* tells you, *The Kings of the Earth set themselves, and the Rulers take Counsel together against the Lord, and against his Anointed* ; but the same Spirit tells us, that notwithstanding, *he hath set his King upon the holy hill of Sion, who shall break the Kings of the Earth with a Rod of Iron, and dash them in pieces like a Potters Vessel* : and his Saints shall have the honour of *binding their Kings in Chains and their Nobles with Fetters of Iron*. Moreover, Brethren, we read how in old time, for the sake of his Elect, God *reproved Kings, saying, Touch not mine Anointed*,

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' *ted, and do my Prophets no harm.* It is true,
 ' that God hath appointed Government as his
 ' Ordinance, but he hath not tied us up to
 ' *Monarchie*, which all the Wise men of *Greece*
 ' have rejected, and called them all by the
 ' name they deserved, *Tyrants*. And though our
 ' Emperours came in upon us by Conquest
 ' and Surprize, yet we have been governed
 ' heretofore by a *Senate*; and sometime the
 ' *Senate*, and sometime the *Souldiery* have cut
 ' off their Emperours for their Arbitrary Go-
 ' vernment, and set up others in the room.
 ' So that if we grant the Office to be from
 ' God, yet the person appointed to that Of-
 ' fice is a *Creature of man*, or a *Humane Crea-*
 ' *ture*; and they that set them up, may pull
 ' them down; for they are appointed to be
 ' a *terror to evil-doers*, and to be the *Mini-*
 ' *sters of God to us for our good*: But when he
 ' is a Murtherer of them that do well, as we
 ' see by this bloody Execution on our Fellow-
 ' Souldiers, he is the Devils Minister, not
 ' Gods; and in resisting, we fight not against
 ' him, but *the Devil that is in him*. Besides,
 ' that which this Tyrant intends, is such an
 ' arbitrary Act of his own, that the great
 ' Senate, whose Counsel and Authority he
 ' hath rejected, are afraid of the like cruelty,
 ' and would be glad to be restored to their
 ' Authority. Let us therefore be no longer
 ' Ser-

' Servants of such men, but stand fast in the
 ' liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free :
 ' Hath not he made us his First-born, higher
 ' than the Kings of the Earth ? Are not we a
 ' Royal Priesthood ? and have not the Saints a
 ' promise that they shall inherit the Earth ? The
 ' Gentiles may permit Kings to exercise Lord-
 ' ship over them, but it ought not to be so with
 ' us, 'Tis in vain to expect till the Empe-
 ' rours become Christians ; we Christians
 ' must make our selves Emperours ; at least
 ' we may divide the Empire among us, and
 ' set up Christ alone to rule as King in the
 ' midst of us, in a HOLY COMMON-
 ' WEALTH. And now is the time, or
 ' never : If we should tamely submit to the
 ' Tyrants Sword, our Religion, which is bound
 ' up in our Lives, will perish with us, and the
 ' Generations yet unborn will curse us. Did
 ' not Moses slay the Egyptian that assaulted his
 ' Brother ? and were not the Israelites com-
 ' manded to kill the Canaanites ? What if some
 ' one of our number, who undervalues his
 ' Life, go and dispatch the Tyrant ? *Melius*
 ' *pereat unus quam unitas* : you Romans know
 ' my meaning.

' Once more, my Brethren, there is a Law
 ' and dictate of nature that will justifie us in re-
 ' sisting those that would take away our Lives.
 ' Self-preservation is a Law above any humane

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‘ Constitution. *By what Law must we die,*
 ‘ that have the Law of *Nature* for our Self-
 ‘ preservation, which is *equivalent to the Law*
 ‘ *of God?* And did not *Cicero* that great Com-
 ‘ monwealths-man tell us, that *Salus Populi Su-*
 ‘ *prema Lex?* If those Infidels that are appointed
 ‘ to cut our Throats will venture their Lives
 ‘ for such an Earthly Master, shall we lay
 ‘ them down cowardly without doing any
 ‘ thing for our Heavenly Master, for our Re-
 ‘ ligion, which he hath intrusted us with, and
 ‘ will require it at our hands, if we betray
 ‘ it, and seek not to convey it to our Chil-
 ‘ dren? And if we die without endeavouring
 ‘ it, we may *perish in the next world for peri-*
 ‘ *shing so tamely in this.* And thus I hope I
 ‘ have satisfied all scruples of Conscience. And
 ‘ now, I beseech you, suffer a word of Exhor-
 ‘ tation.

‘ Now is the time that God will *redeem his*
 ‘ *People* by our hands. Now is the time that
 ‘ we must vindicate our Christian Liberty.
 ‘ Now is the time that we must destroy those
 ‘ Romish Wolves that would devour the
 ‘ Flock of Christ. What though we be in our
 ‘ selves but few in number? Were not the
 ‘ people so by whom God delivered *Israel*, by
 ‘ the hands of *Joshua* and *Gideon*? What though
 ‘ our Enemies be many? hath it not been
 ‘ known, when *one hath chased a Thousand.*
 ‘ and

and two put ten thousand to flight? and may not
 ' the Roman Valour, assisted by the Arm of Christ,
 ' do more than the Jewish? Besides, though
 ' there be but this one Legion that are entire-
 ' ly Christians, there are infinite numbers
 ' scattered up and down the Empire, whose
 ' hearts are ASSOCIATED with us al-
 ' ready, and wait for such an opportunity as
 ' our stout resistance will give them. Did
 ' not Pliny complain to Trajan, that the Chri-
 ' stian Assemblies were so great, that their
 ' Heathen Temples were quite forsaken, *Et*
 ' *sacra Solennia diu intermissa*? Did not Ter-
 ' tullian many years since tell us, that the
 ' Cities and Garisons, and Camp, were filled
 ' with Christian Souldiers? and are there not
 ' great numbers multiplied now, and ready to
 ' joyn with us? And a later Doctor, Cyprian,
 ' a holy Martyr, told us, that our number is Ni-
 ' mius & Copiosus: and the numbers of such
 ' faithful brethren are much encreased rather
 ' than diminished, since that time. Be strong
 ' then, and couragious; be not afraid nor dis-
 ' maid, for Maximian, nor all the multitude
 ' with him: *there are more with us than there*
 ' *are with him: With them is the Arm of flesh,*
 ' *with us is the Lord our God to help us, and to*
 ' *fight our battels. Up then and be doing, ye*
 ' *mightie men of Valour; fight the Lords bat-*
 ' *tels, and he will fight for you.* Do not
 basely

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' basely cast away your lives like so many
 ' *felo's dese* ; sell them at as dear a rate as you
 ' can. It better becomes the Roman Valour
 ' to dye like men in defence of their lives and
 ' Religion, than ignominiously to have their
 ' throats cut like so many Swine by a bloody
 ' Butcher : If we perish in such a glorious en-
 ' *terprize*, yet we shall live in the records of
 ' the Ages to come, and give the world a good
 ' example : but if we survive, we shall enjoy the
 ' honours and glories of the world ; Religion
 ' will flourish with us , and the Church here
 ' on Earth be like that in Heaven, no more
 ' Militant, but Triumphant.

Such have been the Harangues of *Dissen-*
ters in our *latter Age*, and by them they have
 led on a multitude to *Rebellion* and *destruction* : and to such an end our Author hath pro-
 posed the example of the *Julian-Christians*.

But there was not one of these Worthies
 (*of whom the world was not worthie*) durst
 mutter a syllable to such a purpose ; they *had*
not so learnt Christ, as to scandalize and de-
 fame him and his Doctrine, as if they were
 enemies to *Cæsar* : *We are Christians* (say
 they) *we have Christ's Example before our eyes*
to teach us Obedience and Patience, and his
Command not to unsheath our Swords against
lawful Authoritie, neither in our own or his de-
fence. We value not the honours of this life,
but

but hasten to the glories of a better; and in confidence of a speedie enjoyment of them, we will not make resistance, nor accept deliverance by any ungodly act. And though we see the example of Crueltie before our eyes in the death of our Brethren that have been cut asunder and slain with the Sword, we are readie to suffer as patiently, as we hope to reign gloriously with them.

Now let any serious man among us judge which were the best Christians; these *Primitive Worthies*, who often took their lives in their hands to fight the battels of a *Pagan* and *Tyrannical Emperour*, and patiently laid them down at last, rather than make resistance against him; or those *Modern Zealots*, who will hazard their lives against a *Christian* and *gracious Prince*, and by their resistance, rather take away his life, than live in obedience to him, or surrender their own into the hands of God that gave it, when God calls for it? They who say of a *Heathen Persecutor*, He is Gods Minister, we must obey him, not onely for fear, but for Conscience sake; he hath no power but what is given him from above for the punishment of our sins: Or they that say, This is the Heir, come, let us kill him, and the Inheritance shall be ours?

If our Author be to be credited in any thing, this which he says, p. 68. is the plain truth of
the

the matter : The Julian Christians were in quite other circumstances than the first Christians were: they were in full and quiet possession of their Religion, when Julian came to the Crown ; and they should have undervalued it, if they had not done their utmost to keep it :—whereas the poor Primitive Christians were born to persecution: they neither knew better, nor expected it. And after a large flourish, he sums up all in a word, p. 71. The first Christians suffered according to the Laws of their Countrey, whereas these under Julian were persecuted contrarie to Law.

We never heard that the Christians in Julian's time pleaded the Laws for their indemnity: Nor had they any ground so to do more than the *Theban Legion* had. For,

1. No Law of Man could make void the Law of God, of worshipping God onely: And if (as St. Augustine says) *he that disobeyes the Praefect that he may obey the Emperour, is guiltless; so is he that disobeyes the Emperour that he may obey God.*

2. There was no Publick Law that one Legion should be cut in pieces for being Christians, by another; yet this was their case: They were commanded by that Tyrant *Maximius* to assist him in destroying the Christians. But they answered, *We are Christians, and such as our selves we cannot persecute.* So that either the Emperour's Will was a Law,
or

or else they suffered contrarie to Law.

Therefore the *truth of the matter* is this : Our Author had committed an errour in the *Foundation*, and now is forced to patch and daub for hiding of it ; He supposeth the Christians in *Julian's* time did generally do or approve of what he represents some few of the weak and ungovernable part to have done ; the contrarie whereof, as to the founder, more learned, and pious bodie of the Christians of that Age, hath been sufficiently demonstrated.

So that I shall now appeal to the *Judgement* of the *Reader*, and to the *Conscience* of the *Author* (if it be not *feared*) whether this be not the *plain truth of the matter* which follows. The Primitive Christians, for the first 300 years, abounded in Christian simplicitie ; they never relished the pleasures of the World ; Ambition and Covetousness never possesst nor adulterated their spirits ; the Bloud and Spirit of Christ and his Apostles ran warm in their Veins, and leapt for joy, as brisk as generous Wine, when it was poured out, for the Gospel sake, to bear witness to the truths thereof. Then it was that they were *afraid* to *speak evil of Dignities* in the Church or State : then it was said, *Ecce quam se invicem diligunt !* Behold how they love one another ! Then it was that such *Dissen-*
ters

ters that betrayed any truth of the Gospel, or any of their Fathers or Brethren, were branded with the black character of *Traditores* or Traitors. If ever we will learn puritie of Doctrine, or innocencie of Life, we must take our measures from the Example and Practice of *those Primitive times*, whenas yet they had so many Apostolical Guides among them, that sealed their Doctrine with their blood, as *Clemens*, and *Ignatius*, and *Polycarp*, *Justine Martyr*, *Irenæus*, &c. And therefore we of all others should abhor the Doctrine of *Resistance* on pretence of the *Laws*, when our *Laws* say, *We may not resist under any pretence whatsoever.*

Again, is not this the *truth of the matter*, that when *Constantine* established the Church in outward splendour, and Christianitie was the way to Preferment and Secular honours and advantages, *Hodie Venenum infusum est Ecclesiæ*? From thenceforward the sins of Ambition, Emulation, and Contention, imbittered and poisoned their Spirits; they grew wanton, and began to vex and disquiet their Governours; to supplant, *bite and devour one another.* And *Constantine* himself favoured the Cause of *Arius*. But when *Constantius* espoused and made it the established Religion, then, like *Jonas Gourd*, *Arianism* and *Donatism* sprung up in a night, and over-topt the whole Church:

Church: *Totus mundus miratur se factum Ari-
anum.* Then it was that Christ was crucified
afresh indeed, when his *Deity* was openly deni-
ed and disputed, and those few Christians that
with *Athanasius, Basil, Apollinaris*, and some
others, defended it, were banished, and ac-
counted Impostors, and Seducers of the peo-
ple, and dealt with accordingly.

And from hence most probably it was, that
Julian first learnt the Principles of his Aposta-
cie, which were improved by the Pagan Phi-
losophers that were his Tutors, who could
disprove the *Divinity of Christ* from the Do-
ctrine of the *Arians*, that were the greatest
part of *Professing Christians*; and *Julian* made
use of some of their Arguments against Chri-
stianity, concluding, that *if he were not God, he
ought not to be worshipped.* And that Apostate
often expressed a greater favour to *Arius*, and
particularly to *George an Arian Bishop of Alexan-
dria*, whose writings he made use of against the
Christians, *ut Ecclesiam suis confingeret telis*, than
to any of the most pious & learned Catholics.

Moreover, *Julian* perceived that the ha-
tred and contention of Christians was so im-
placable, that his giving them the reins would
be a means to destroy them, without his use
of the Sword or Whip to drive them on (as
*when the dogs and wolves had declared war,
the wolves sent a spy to discover their numbers,*
who

who brought word their number was great, but their colours were divers, and they did so snarl and quarrel with each other, that they were not to be feared at all.) But though the truth of the Matter appears, yet we are not come to the root of the Matter, (for that is not grounded on Truth) and the bitter root lieth deep under the ground; and this it is: (saith our Author) *The first Christians suffered according to the Laws of their Country, whereas these under Julian were persecuted contrarie to Law.* Against which though I have said enough already to convince impartial men, yet I shall now add this further: I wonder how such men can plead the *Laws of the Country* against *Persecution*, who every day persecute those Laws, and live in open defiance and opposition of them; contriving and practising how to over-throw the *Religion* and *Government* established by those Laws. If the *Julian Christians* did (as you say) pray for the *Destruction* of their Emperours, reproach and brave them to their very beards, and threaten to kick them; I wonder what Law of the Land did maintain such practices: or if they could have found out some such Law, yet the Law of God being violated by such practices, God might justly punish them for the breach of his Laws: for no Law of man, that is temporarie and mutable, can indemnifie us against the Laws of God.

God. This is a Maxime with Lawyers (as *Lelius de privilegiis Eccl.*) *Nulla lex valeat contra jus Divinum.*

But, p. 68. Julian found their Religion in quiet possession. What Religion I pray was then in full and quiet possession? If any, it was the *Arian*, which your self cannot call Christian, except you add *dissenting*. And if, as it hath been said, it were as *bad* as *Po-pery*, it was *worse* than *Paganism*. Perhaps this is the Religion of our Author: for no man likely can deride the *Doctrine*, but he that denies the *Deity of Christ*. But I have so far a good opinion of you, that you considered this; and do not therefore give it the Appellative of *Christian Religion*, but the proper name of *their Religion*, viz. the *Arians*, or *dissenting Christians*.

If this were not the Religion that was in full and quiet possession, what was it? to revile, and threaten, and pray for the destruction of the Emperour, and to contend earnestly against the Divinity of Christ, as *Constantius Julian's* predecessor did? who, as Bishop *Usher* observes, *promoted that damnable error with all his might*. Was this that which you call the reigning Religion? So was that in *Cromwells* days, when *Iniquity was established by a Law*, (such as that *lawless Usurper* could procure.) Can you produce any *Universal Laws*.

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made

made by *Constantine*, that the Christian Religion should obtain throughout *all* his Dominions? *Licinius* and *Maximian* cruelly oppressed them long after *Constantine* came to the Throne. And his Senate consisted of *unconverted Romans* for a great part. *Eusebius*, chap. 55. of the Life of *Constantine*, says, he compelled none to turn Christians; and chap. 59. forbid any one to molest another for his Religion. Our Author might have gone for one of the *Godly partie* in those daies.

I do not read that there was *one Law* extended throughout the *whole Roman Empire*, which was almost *Universal*, but that several Kingdoms and Cities were governed by their own Laws. So were the *Jews* and *Heathen*, as well as *Christian* Subjects, in their several Cities and remote Provinces. As *Julian* told the Bishops that were of several *Periwasions*, that they should not disturb the publick peace of the Empire, and then they might enjoy their own Liberties and Religion. *Constantine* seemed to be almost of a like persuasion: for why else did he not suppress the *Arian* Heresie, which from *Alexandria* infected the whole Empire? He did take care to prevent *Schism* and *Sedition* among Christians, that the administration of the Government might be more easie: But this great man banished *Athanasius* into *France*, where he remained

mained till *Constantine* his Son recalled him, as *Eusebius* in his *Chronologie*.

But what if there were some Edicts for the establishment of Christian Religion in *Constantine's* days, nothing was confirmed by the *Senate*; that was accounted then a needless thing. Nor did the Edicts of one Emperour bind another: by the same Authority as *Constantine* might have settled the Orthodox Religion, *Constantius* settled the *Arian*, and after him *Julian* the *Pagan* Religion; I mean, by his own Imperial power and Edicts. For the *Roman* Emperour was an *Absolute Monarch*; their *Will* was a *Law*, as *Gregory Nazianzen*, quoted by you, p. 13. *The Will and Pleasure of the Emperour is an unwritten Law, backed with Power, and much stronger than written ones which were not supported by Authority.* So that though he did not, as you term it, *fairly enact* Sanguinary Laws, yet had he the *Law of the Sword* in his hands. And I think it was a great mercie of God to the Christians under him, that he did not by publick Edicts put the *Sword* out of his own hands, into the hands of his Heathen Magistrates, who would have written them all in blood. Therefore Mr. *Baxter* saies, p. 20. of 4th part of his *Directt.* *Julian was a protector of the Church from Popular Rage in comparison of other Persecutors, though in other respects he was a Plague.*

Valentinian was a right Christian Emperour, and when he was chosen, the Souldiers were importunate that he should assume another as an Associate in the Empire : he tells them, *It lay in you to chuse me your Emperour ; but being chosen, what you desire is not in your power but mine ; it belongs to you as Subjects to be quiet , and rest contented , and to me as your King to consider what is fit to be done.* *Zozomen*, l. 6. 86.

Justinian was another good Emperour, and he assumed the sole administration of the Empire to himself ; and demands in his Novels, *Quis tantæ autoritatis, ut nolentem Principem possit ad convocandos Patres cætorosque Proceres coarctare ?* Who can claim so great Authority, as to constrain the Prince to assemble the Senate against his will ? And *Justinian* (Novel 105.) excepts the Emperour from the coercive power of the Law, to whom, says he, *God hath subjected the Laws themselves, sending him as a ^{ὡς πατέρα} living Law unto men ;* And the Gloss noteth, *That the Emperour is the Father of the Law ; whereupon the Laws also are subject to him.* When *Vespasian* was Emperour, it was declared by the Senate, *That he might make Leagues with whom he pleased :* And though *Tiberius*, *Claudius* or *Germanicus* had made certain Laws, yet *Vespasian* was not obliged by them. And *Pliny* in his

Panegyrick to *Trajan*, tells him, how happy he was that he was obliged to nothing. So that the Christians had no more pretence of having the *Laws on their side* under *Julian*, than under *Dioclesian*, *Maximus*, or *Constantius*; nor did they ever plead them to justify a *Rebellion* against him, for want of such an Advocate or Leader as our Author.

Gregory Nyssene tells us also what the power of the King or Emperour was: he defines him to be *αὐτοκράτωρ ἢ ἀνατορ*, one that hath Absolute power in himself, no Master nor Equal: *Cont. Eunomium, l. 1.*

So that our Author's great *Babel* is fallen, viz. that the *Julian Christians* had their Religion established by *Law*, and that they were long possessed of it: For, *Laws* or no *Laws*, by the *Lex Regia* the Emperour could reverse the old, and establish new as it pleased him: and for want of *Laws*, where the word of the Emperour was, there was power, and none might say to him, *What dost thou?* Thus it was with *Constantine* and *Constantius*, and why not with *Julian*? And now I hope the good Christians of our Age will no longer trust to such *broken Reeds* as our Author puts into their hands, much less that they should take up the *Sword* (which will be no other than a *broken Reed* also, not onely to fail them, but to pierce through their sides).

Now if we should turn the Tables, and ask our Author, Whether when *Jovian* and *Valentinian* were Emperours, and had made some new Edicts for the *Orthodox Christians*, as well as against the *Arians* and *Pagans*, it had been lawful for the *Arians* or *Pagans* to rebel in defence of their Religion? Or, to come nearer home, Whether when Queen *Mary* had established *Poperie* by Law in this Nation, it had been lawful for the *Papists* to have rebelled against Queen *Elizabeth*, they having the Laws on their side, yea and questioning her Right of Succession too: yet we do not read that they did contrive a *General Rebellion*; though, for ought I see, our Author would have justified them, when he tells us from *Zozomen*, what men may do for the Religion whereof they are well perswaded.

Or neerer yet: when the *Long, too Long* Parliament, pretended against the King, that their Religion was in danger by *Poperie* and *Superstition*, their *Laws and Liberties* invaded by an *Arbitrary Power*; did they well or ill from these pretences to raise that War against the King, that turned the Nation to an *Aceldama*? Were the *Laws* such as could justify that *Rebellion*, or no? If they could not, then I am sure they cannot now, since the late Act for *Treason*, in the 13th of our King, and a Declaration of Parliament, *That*
it

it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever, &c. And by several Statutes it is declared, That the King is the Onely Supreme Governour of his Dominions, over all Persons and Causes whatsoever. And the power of the Sword or Militia is put into his hands, as well by the Law of the Nation, as of God ; and I trust he will not bear it in vain.

Having thus stript this full-fac'd Bird of a few borrowed and painted Feathers, how justly is he exposed to be hooted at by every boy, or dealt with as in the Apologue of such another bird, that seeing the Pidgeons to be well meated and live securely, he would get himself to be coloured and arrayed like one of them, and feed among them, that he might no longer be forced to prey abroad for his livelihood : but having fed with the Pidgeons a while, they perceived that neither head, nor beak, nor claws, were like theirs ; and therefore they expel him out of their societie ; and then thinking to return to his old manner of life, the rest fall on him, and banish him from them also ; so that he was forced to remain alone as one in the Desert. The Moral is onely this : Though some men may for their own concerns, and for a little time, love the Treason, yet generally all men hate the Traitor.

For my part, I cannot see any one particular that did so justly render Julian odious to

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the *Primitive Christians*, as that he had been (an Apostate) *Lecturer* in an Assembly of Christians. And if any such shall (for ambitious, covetous, or vainglorious ends) seek Protection and Encouragement from some *Great men* in this our Age; I shall earnestly beseech them to consider, that as *some have entertained good Angels unawares*, so others have *evil ones* to be their *Familiars*, who usually drive them over Precipices to perish in the deep: and *by their fruits you may know them*. For as our Saviour said, (*Joh. 8. 44.*) *Ye are of your father the devil, because they did the works of the devil*; so they, certainly, that by lyes and falshood provoke to *Envy*, *Contention*, and *Bloudshed*; they that *falsely accuse* innocent and pious persons, and *bring railing Accusations* against their Governours, such as *Michael the Archangel durst not bring against Satan himself*: however they may pass for *Angels of light* with some *deluded people*, will appear to *sober and discerning persons*, not as an *evil Spirit* under a *Prophets Mantle*, but in his *proper colours and terrours*, breathing out *Flames of fire*, raising *Storms and Earthquakes*; and at last vanish, leaving an infectious and noisome stench behind them.

If this *Reflection* favours too much of an *Invective*, it is what our Author's *two great Leaders* have suggested. So *Bracton* says of

a wicked King, that he is *Minister Diaboli dum declinat ad injuriam*; he is the Devils Minister that acts injuriously: and Gregory says it not onely of Julian, *That the Devil was in him*, but even of Constantius, *That some Devil* (he knows not of what kind) *stole in with him to his Consultations*, p. 25. And when our Author calls the *Prayers and Tears* of the Primitive Christians, *Mountebank-prescriptions*. And p. 74. *Much wonders at those who trouble the Nation at this time of the day with the unseasonable prescriptions of Prayers and Tears, and the Passive Obedience of the Theban Legion*. And p. 75. *That they throw away their lives, and are certainly wearie of them, who practise any such Passive Obedience*. And p. 77. *That he is a felo de se, and guiltie of his own Murder*. And thereupon prepares men for resistance of a *lawful Power* (though it be exercised unlawfully) with an *Ei qui vult viribus uti, erit viriliter resistendum*; applying what was spoken by Bracton against the violent attempts of one *private person* against another, to the actions of *lawful Princes*; and so doth teach the Doctrine of Devils: for, as St. James says, *Such wisdom comes not from above, but is earthly, sensual, and devilish*.

Though this might excuse the sharpness of my Reflections on the *Author*, yet when I shall shew the provocation I had thereunto, I think

think every *truly Christian Reader* will justify me. And this it was. When I had read that passage in our Author, quoted by him (out of *Zozomen*) p. 60. it came to my remembrance that *Milton* (*Cromwel's* Secretarie) in his *Defence of the People of England* for murdering King *Charles* the First of blessed memorie, made use of the same quotation, *totidem verbis*, p. 44. From him also he took the Theme on which he declaims in so many Chapters. For thus *Milton*: Quid Antiocheni homines apprime Christiani? *What did the Antiochians, who were the chiefest Christians? did they pray for Julian the Apostate, to whom they came publickly, and rent him* (or, as our Author interprets it, *next every vein in his Royal heart*) *with their reproaches, and scoffing at his long Beard, bid him make Ropes of it? And when they heard of his death, appointed publick Supplications, Feastings, and Mirth, can you think that they ever prayed for his life and safetie? What? when it is also reported that he was slain by a Christian Souldier?*

These are the *Pillars* on which our *English Solomon* hath raised to himself that *Temple of Honour*; which yet may prove but as so many *Pillars of Smoak* to the eyes of all that shall inspect them; and perhaps may have a worse effect (which *smoak* that hath so much *fire* under it is wont to have) upon the Author.

But

But, let us observe what worthie *Lectures* our Author reads us on these *Texts* of *Milton*. Chap. 3. *They reproached him in words.* This Chapter consists of 7 pages. Chap. 4. *Of their Actions.* This hath about 7 more. Chap. 5. and 6. *Of their Prayers and their other Devotions,* makes 11 pages. Chap. 7. *His Death by a Christian Souldier;* where you have the passage at large out of *Zozomen*, commending such as *kill Tyrants*, 6 pages. Chap. 8. *How they used his memorie,* by joy and feasting at his death, by calling him *Persecutor, Traitor, Killer of Christ, &c.* with other *Reflections on their Behaviour.* Chap. 9. *Ad finem.*

He quotes also the same passages out of *Bracton* which *Milton* made use of, p. 81. *Non est Rex, ubi dominatur voluntas, & non Lex: exercere debet Rex potestatem Juris, ut Vicarius & Minister Dei; potestas autem injuriæ Diaboli est, non Dei: cum declinat ad injuriam Rex, Diaboli Minister est.* And as if these Arguments which that *Mercenarie man* made use of to justify the death of *Charles the first*, were not enough, our Author adds more to them; to what end, he best knows. But certainly, if that *Execrable Book* deserved to be burnt by the common *Hangman* in *France*, this book deserves to be used so by every *Loyal Subject* in *England*: it being of much worse consequence than

than that of *Milton*: *Milton's* book being written when the *Father* was in his *Grave*, and this when the *Son* by many miracles of mercie is settled and preserved in the *Throne*: where God long preserve and prosper him.

And this I suppose is the reason that our *Author* and Mr. *Hunt* cannot endure the mention of 48, no more than that of the *Theban Legion*; because these men are the very *Marshals* and *Miltons*, the Contrivers and Justifiers of whatever shall be done according to that pattern in the Mount, as the old Phrase was: A Mount like that which is described *Heb. 12. 18. So full of terrours, as made Moses himself to tremble exceedingly.* Perhaps they finding no Preferment in the *Established Government*, hope to get a Bootie by *fishing in troubled waters*; and like the two Sons of *Zebedee* (for they were *Fishermen* also) to sit the one at the right, and the other at the left hand of some Great person, when he shall come into his Kingdom. Or if the hopes of the translation of the Kingdom should fail, and degenerate into a *Commonwealth*, one of them may be, as *Milton* was, a mercenarie *Historian*, or *under-Secretarie of State*. But now I think on it, they will never be so fit as *Milton* was, of whom they come as short in *accuracie of Stile*, as they may in time exceed him in other of his *Virtues* and *Preferments*.

I would advise our *Divine Lecturer* to take a *Doctor's degree* at *Salamanca*. (for he may despair of it here in *England*) and then he may be the fitter to be a *Casuiſt* and *Confeſſor* to the *States General*, to reſolve their *Caſes of Conſcience*. And for our *Lawyer*, if he do but read one *Lecture* more on *Doleman*, and purſue his *Argument* as he hath begun, he that is yet eſteemed of but as the *Pick-lock of the Law*, and ſpeaks things doubtfully and myſteriouſly, as the *Devils Oracles* were wont, may come to that *Top of Preferment* which *Mr. Br. a Quondam Brother* attained: And though he never ſit in *Judgment*, as he did; yet he ſhall, if his *Friends* will be at the coſt, have that *Inſcription* on his *Tomb*, which was provided for the other.

Mr. Hunt ſpeaking of his *Adverſary*, ſays, p. 152. he obſerves for our imitation, that the *Orthodox did not depoſe the Arian Emperours*. And answers, *We ought undoubtedly to imitate them therein, for that no man, much leſſ a Prince, ought to loſe any right for a Speculative error, or meer miſbelief: But onely for wicked practices, and opinions that promote, excite, and encourage them.* As it *Opinions* that overthrow the *Doctrines of Chriſts Divinity*, did not directly tend to wicked practices! Hath not this *Lawyer* been ſee'd by the *Socinians* to become their *Advocate*? But might not an
Arian

Arian Emperour be resisted, and One who is truly *Christian*, and a *Defender of the Apostolick Faith*, be opposed? And doth our Author know of any more than a *Speculative error* (if so much) in him whom he prosecutes so violently? Or was not *Constantius* his being of the *Arian* persuasion, the cause of many actual cruelties practised against the Orthodox, not in remote places onely, but chiefly at *Constantinople*, where he mostly resided? and were not many of those Cruelties acted by the authoritie of his Edicts? as I have noted concerning *Macedonius* his Cruelties.

And so for the *Sitting of Parliaments till all Grievances are redressed*. Milton, p. 80. *Si Rex Parliamentum prius dimiserit quam ea omnia transigantur quorum causa Concilium indictum erat, perjurus reus erit.* Mr. *Hunt* resembles him in this, as well as if there had been a *transmigration of Souls*. Let his Majesty satisfie his people never so well by Reason and Authoritie, and serious promises of frequent Parliaments; yet this man insinuates, that he acts as if there were no intent to call a Parliament any more; And that the design of the Addressers was for discontinuance of Parliaments, and for a *Popish Successor*: though he himself observes, that in thanking his Majesty for his promise of frequent Parliaments, they do desire them. See his Preface.

P. 152. He says, as our Author doth after him, That the behaviour of the Church towards the Roman Pagan Emperours was much different from that which they bore to Julian, who succeeded to Christian Emperours, was educated a Christian, and sometime bore a place in the Church: for whereas the Apostles had enjoyned the Christians to pray for the Pagan Emperours, though actual persecutors of the Church; yet THE WHOLE CHURCH did curse and Anathematize Julian with an Anathema, *Quo Deus rogatur ut aliquem è medio tollat. In Julianum, cum defectioni adderet Machinationes evertendi Christianismi, usa est Ecclesia isto extremæ necessitatis telo, & a Deo est audita.* Grotius on Luk. c. 6. v. 22. The whole of Grotius his Note to this purpose, is in these words: *Sunt quædam delicta tam atrocia, ut si contumacia accedat, nemo non videat esse ^{apostolicis eis datam.} pro talibus, dum tales manent, Ecclesia non intercedit precum suffragio, quod solis pœnitentibus patet: Generaliter tamen his, ut & infidelibus, mentem optat meliorem.*

Chrysostomus, ubi anathema pronunciandum, ait, adversus facta, non adversus homines, intelligit districtum illud anathema, quo Deus rogatur ut aliquem e medio tollat. Hujus sanè rarior est usus; non tamen Nullus: nam in Julianum, cum defectioni adderet machinationes evertendi Christianismi, usa est Ecclesia isto extremæ necessitatis telo, & a Deo est exaudita. It

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If our Author had not been afraid to discover from what Writers he collected his *Poſſe* of *Daſſies*, as he calls it, p. 95. he would have repeated this of Mr. *Hunt*, which ſeems to carry more of *Reason* and *Authority* than any thing elſe in all his Treatiſe of *Julian*. And becauſe I ſuſpect that he may keep this for a *Reſerve* (for I have heard that he intends to purſue his deſign againſt all Oppoſers) if he bring no other weapons but ſuch as theſe of the *Church-Cenſures*, we ſhall not fear: for theſe are *Spiritual weapons which the Church makes uſe of*, (and that onely againſt incorrigible offenders that had committed a ſin to death) as their laſt refuge in extream neceſſity: yet of theſe he onely ſays, *the Church doth not intercede by ſupplications proper to the penitents*; yet, generally, even to theſe, as alſo to *Infidels*, it prays for a better mind. *St. Chryſoſtome* (ſays *Grotius*) ſpeaking of the *Anathema* that is to be pronounced againſt the *Actions*, not the *Persons*, underſtands this ſevere *Anathema* whereby God is intreated to take away the offender from the miſt of the people, &c.

So that *Grotius* and *Chryſoſtome* having delivered their Judgements clearly in other places concerning Prayers for *Heatheniſh* and *Perſecuting Emperours*, they cannot be underſtood here to write againſt their own, and the judgement of all thoſe other *Chriſtians* afore-mentioned.

tioned. To which I adde this of *Tertull. ad Scapulam*: *Christianus Nullius est hostis nedum Imperatoris, quem sciens à Deo suo constitui, NECESSE EST ut eum diligit, revereatur, & saluum velit.* And in his *Apol.* We reverence in our Emperours Gods judgement that made them Governours; for we know that to be in them which God would have; and of this we make account as of a great Oath. And the Oath of Christian Souldiers (as *Vegetius de re Militari*, l. 2. c. 5.) was; Per Deum, & per Christum, & per Spiritum Sanctum, & per Majestatem Imperatoris, &c. By God, and Christ, and by the Holy Ghost, and by the Majesty of the Emperour, who next to God was to be loved and revered--- they swore to yield him faithful Devotion, and vigilant Service, &c. And he gives this reason for it: For a man, whether private or military, doth serve God, when he faithfully loves him who reigns by Gods authoritie.

P. 151. Mr. *Hunt* hath another Observation that deserves a special remark: Neither will we (saith he) make use in our defence of the Papists excluding the King of Navarre, a Protestant King in France, no more than we will allow the French to murder a Protestant Minister, because we execute a seditious, traitorous Roman Priest.

Ans. It is well known, the Romish Priests

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are not executed in *England* upon the account of their *Religion*, but for such crimes as are made *Treason* by the Laws of our Land. And if the Protestants were not executed but upon the breach of such Laws, the cause of Complaint would be less than now it is. But why, on *your Principles*, a *Protestant Prince* may not be excluded by *Papists*, who perhaps are as fully perswaded of the truth of *their Religion* as we are of *ours*, and do aver that Salvation is not to be attained in any Communion but that of their own Church, I see no sufficient reason. For they may as well plead that *Dominion* is founded in *Grace*, as you do; and that may equally justify *both parties* in case of *Resistance*: (i. e.) it can justify *neither*. And the consequences of that *Act of Exclusion* may dread us from doing the like. For when the *Guises*, and other contrivers of the *Holy League* (as they called it) had by great importunitie prevailed with the present King *Henry* the Third to agree to the *Exclusion* of *Henry* the Fourth, the dreadful slaughters of the Subjects on both sides were not the only evil consequences that ensued; but the *Guishan* Faction grew so insolent, as to affront and distress the King himself, so far, that fearing his own destruction, he was constrained to joyn his Partie to that of the King of *Nawarre*, (to whose *Exclusion* he had consented) that

that he might preserve himself from being excluded by the prevailing Faction. So that your *Quere*, p. 153. *Whether if the Crown should devolve upon a Roman Successor we could justify the dethroning of him,* (which the Author of *Julian* resolves we may not) though the French Papists could not be justified in rejecting the King of *Navarre*, requires no long consideration.

Tum tua Res agitur partes cum proximus Ardet.

I cannot omit another bold attempt of Mr. *Hunt* in his *Preface*, where he conjures up the old *Smeclymnian* Monster of *Curse ye Meroz*, to affright all men from an accursed *Neutrality*, to bring them into the blessed *Association*. It was a wise Law of *Solon* (saies he) that if the *Commonwealth* at any time should be divided into *Factions*, that the *Neuters* should be noted with infamie. And that you may know what he means, he addes, If all that are *TRUE PROTESTANTS* and *TRUE LOVERS OF OUR GOVERNMENT* would declare themselves on the behalf of our Religion and Government in such terms as besit honestmen, and as the exigencie of our present state shall require, we shall find the numbers of *Addressers* reduced to the *Dukes Pensioners* and *Creatures*. And again : Our *Trai-*

tors would disappear, if we had no Neuters. And to slur the proceedings of his Majesty against E. S. he says, that the name of E. S. in the Abhorrences of the Nation, were but like the name of John-a-Styles and John-an-Oakes, in putting a fictitious Case. So that it is most evident that he invites, and threatens all men that refuse, to joyn in an *Association*: and to what that tends, the Nation is indifferently well satisfied already.

If not the *Comments* which these men make upon that *Text*, the Authors and Instruments which they make use of, such as were the most notorious *Incendiaries* in our late War, some *Jesuites* and eminent *Factors* for Rome, some *Regicides* that died in their impenitencie; these, and the present endeavours to act over all the Tragedies that were plotted by them a second time, may fully convince us that there is *Mors in Olla*, some deadly *Colloquintida* that hath so imbittered and poisoned such sort of Writings.

I must beg the Readers pardon that I have not been more particular in my Remarks on Mr. *Hunt*: his Book came but lately to my hands; a part of mine being first in the Press, and the rest called for, so that I made it onely an Essay to provoke some more eminent persons of his own Gown to chastise him according to his demerit, who have more
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health and help, more time and advantages than I have. And all that love their Religion and Peace, will abhor such persons, as by the same Methods, the same Libels, and pretences of Arbitrarie Government and Poperie, the same Arguments as were used to defend the War, and the Murder of Charles the First, seek to involve us in another such; and rather than not effect it, will employ and associate with any sort of Fanaticks, Jesuits, and Regicides, such as Doleman, White, and Milton their great Exemplar and Tutor.

I cannot stand to give this Age a character of that Pest of the former; I mean this Milton, whose very Sores and Impostumes these Authors suck, and spit them out to poyson the People. He was one that wrote against the whole Ministrie and their Maintenance; that would have Divorces practised on every slight occasion. And when I shall say, that against his knowledge and Conscience he maliciously opposed the best of Kings, I need say no more to prove him the worst of men.

That Mercenarie wretch was, I confess, a man of more than ordinarie parts: and when he came in his Chap. 4. to defend the Doctrine of Resistance and Regicide against that Argument of Salmasius, which proved that none of the Christians before St. Augustine's time did practise or allow of resisting the law-

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ful Magistrate, though a *Heathen* or an *Arian*; he stretched his *Wit* and his *Reading* so far, as to bankrupt the reputation of them both; as will evidently appear in my Answer to the same Arguments, which both Mr. *Hunt* and our Author have borrowed from him.

And because it hath been creditably reported that *Milton* died a *Papist*, and it is certain that he had been at *Rome*, and was there caressed by some great men, (Cardinals and others) I shall desire the Reader to consider with me, whether that defence which he makes of the *Popish Doctrine* for deposing of *Kings*, in the same Chapter, be not a probable Argument of the truth of that Report. For thus saith *Milton*, chap. 4. p. 47. *As to what concerns the Pope, against whom you DECLAIME MANY THINGS TO NO PURPOSE, I give you libertie to talk till you are hoarse : yet that which you assert so largely, to take with the vulgar and unlearned, That every Christian was subject to their Kings, whether they were just, or whether they were Tyrants, until the power of the Pope was acknowledged to be greater than that of the King, and till he absolved Subjects from their Oaths of Fidelitie; I have shewn that to be most false by many examples. Nor doth that seem more true which you say in the last place, that Pope Zachary did absolve the French from their Oath of Allegiance ; (his reason is) for Hot-*
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roman, a French-man and a Lawyer, denieth that Chilperick was deposed by the Popes authoritie, or that his Kingdom was given to Pepin; but that all this was transacted by the authoritie of the great Council of that Nation, as appears by ancient Annals, which shew that there was no need of absolving the Subjects from that Oath; which also Pope Zachary utterly denied: for in the French Histories it is recorded, as Hottoman and Girardus witness, That the French did from the beginning reserve to themselves a power as of chusing, so of deposing their Kings; and that they were not wont to swear any other Fidelitie to the Kings whom they created, than that they would yield them Faith and Allegiance, if their Kings did perform that which they also swore to do. So that if the King by male-administration first broke his Oath, there was no need of the Pope, the perfidiousness of the King having absolved the subjects from their Oath.

Yet lest this Invention of Milton's own should not be of weight to clear his Holiness, he brings the Popes infallible testimonie for himself: Pope Zachary (says he) who you say did arrogate that authoritie to himself, excuseth it, and lays it on the People: for the Popes words are these; If the Prince be obnoxious to the People by whose beneficence he possesseth his Kingdom, the People that make the

King may depose him. So that the result of all is, the *Pope* and *Fanatick* are agreed in this Principle, The *Majestas realis* is in the People; as *Bellarmino* with *Buchanan* do assert; and, *They that create the King, may destroy him with the same breath.*

How industrious this *Mercenarie man* is to vindicate the *Pope*, whenas his own *Creatures* acknowledge that he was the *Dux Gregis*, the grand Instrument of *dethroning* that *King*, and *sharing* his Inheritance!

In a Dialogue between *Theophilus* a Christian, and *Philander* a Jesuit, Bishop *Bilson* (p. 418. of *Christian Subjection*) brings in *Theophilus* saying: *Tour Law doth not stick to boast that Zacharias deposed Childerick King of France, and placed Pepin in his room.* *Philander* answers, *And so he did.* *Theoph.* *Who says so besides you?* *Philand.* *Platina saith, Ejus autoritate regnum Franciæ Pipino adjudicatur; By Zachary's authoritie the Kingdom of France was adjudged to Pepin. And Frisingensis affirmeth that Pepin was absolved from the Oath of Allegiance (by Pope Steven) which he had given to Childerick, and so were the rest of the Nobles of France; and then the King being shaven, and thrust into a Monasterie, Pepin was anointed King: which you think much the Pope should do in our days.* *Theoph.* *Zachary was consulted with whether it might lawfully be done*
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or no: he did not openly intermaddle with the matter, whatever his privie practices were; though many of your Bishops and Monks, to grace the Pope, make it his onely act.---But bear Zachary's own words, when Volorade and Burcharde were sent to understand his judgment: I find (saith he) in the sacred storie of Divine Scripture, that the people fell away from their wretchless and lascivious King that despised the Counsel of the Wise men of his Realm, and created a sufficient man of themselves King, (This was likely the case of Jeroboam, who had a special Warrant from God.) God himself allowing their doings. All power and rule belongs to God; Princes are his Ministers, and therefore chosen for the people, that they should follow the Will of God, and not do what they list.---All that he hath, as Power, Glorie, Riches, Honour, and Dignitie, he receiveth of the People: the People create the King, and may when the cause requireth, forsake the King: It is therefore lawful for the Franks, refusing this Monster Cbilderick, to chuse one able in War and Peace, by his wisdom to protect and keep in safetie their Wives, Children, Parents, Goods, and Lives. This is the Popes Divinitie, saith Bishop Bilson, that Kings have their power of the People, which the Scripture saith they have from God.

Now

Now as to the Annals of *France*, it is true that the Pope had not intirely grasped the power of deposing Princes in those days, but made use of other Instruments; yet this was done, say the Annals, *Pontifice prius consulto*, as *Sabellicus*, and the *Gloss* in verb. *Deposuit*, (i. e.) *deponentibus, consensit*. The true reason was this: *Pepin* was a man on whom the Pope relied to quell the *Lombards*, and defeat the *Grecians*, that he and *Pepin* might divide the Spoils of the West, as it came to pass: for the Emperour was turned out of *Italy*.

Now let the Reader judge how diligent an Advocate *Milton* is for the Pope; that notwithstanding his own words advising it, and the testimonie of his own creatures affirming it, and the matter of fact and the event demonstrating it, would yet excuse him from having a hand in deposing of that French King. And is this a fit *Guide* for our *Modern Writers*? Is it not possible (as our Author says) but to take many things from *Doleman* in the case of *Succession*? and many more from *Milton*, when you would irritate or defend the People of *England* in case of *Resistance* and *Regicide*?

Have the *Boutefeus* of this Age nothing to set the Nation into a flame, but those *Firebrands* which were rak'd up in the Ashes of that profligate Villain *Milton*, who pleaded the

the Cause of the Pope *Gratis*, and for money that of—Good God! what a Spirit of *Rebellion* is spread over the Land! when, as it was observed by Dr. *Heylen* at the beginning of the last unnatural War, *No times were more full of Odious Pamphlets, no Pamphlets more applauded, nor more dearly bought, than such as do most deeply wound those Powers and Dignities to which the Law hath made us subject.* Methinks we are like the man in the Gospel, *Matth. 12. 44.* out of whom the unclean Spirit being cast out, it walked up and down through drie places, seeking rest and finding none: then said he, *I will return to my house from whence I came out; and finding it empty, swept, and garnished, he taketh with him seven other Spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man is worse than the first.* Deus avertat Omen!

I beg my Readers pardon that I may animadvert a little on these *Libellers*, and acquaint them, that to *their Progenitors* we owed the kindling, fomenting, and inflaming those late Wars, that made us a confusion at home, a scorn and a reproach abroad. *Prynne*, *Burton*, and *Bastwick*, were like so many *Foxes* let loose and encouraged, like the *Priests* and *Preco's of Mars*, to scatter *Fire-brands* through the Nation. Nor would the times permit

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permit a little water to be sprinkled for the quenching of them, but fed them with oyl. The *Laws* were *silenced* and *out-lawed* then, as they are now, as if indeed we were *inter Arma*: there wanted not *scourges* to *punish* them, but an *arm* to *inflict* the legal Sanctions.

Then it was, first, That *Burton* in a seditious Sermon compared that excellent *Prince* to *Julian*, and his *Chapel* to *Julian's Altar*: And tells the same storie of *Maris* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, who called *Julian* Atheist and Apostate to his face, as *our Author* hath done in print. That Male-content having been admitted to the Kings *Chappell* for a while, and defeated of a Bishoprick to which he aspired, turned *Apostate*, and defamed the *whole Order* as *Anti-christian*. He had served that excellent *Prince* in his *Closet*; and missing of the *Preferment* in the *Court*, for his turbulency, being banished thence, he began to *court the People*, and sought it in the *Camp*; not being ashamed to profess himself *an old out-cast Courtier*, worn out of favour and Friends there; which was the reason that he became a *Professed enemy* both to *King* and *Court*.

Then it was that he made his *Pulpit* a *Drum*, to beat up for *Sedition* and *War*. *Prynne*, *Bastwick*, *Leyton*, and *many others*, took the *Alarm*; and dipping their *Pens* in *Gall*, made way for the *Sword*, that glutted it self with so much

much blood. He presumes to dedicate his *Seditious Harangues*, as so many *Fire-brands*, to the *Houses of Parliament*; where finding too much combustible matter, he made such a flame, as warmed him a little, but made a *general conflagration* through the three Kingdoms.

Had it not been much better that *two* or *three* such *Boutefeus* had suffered according to their deserts, than that the *whole Nation* should fall a Sacrifice to those *Idols* of a *Seditious party*?

There wanted not then good Laws against such disturbers of the publick peace. The *Statute of Westm.* the first provided, *That no man should publish or tell any false News whereby discord or occasion of discord or slander may grow between the King and his People or Nobles.* And a Statute was made the second of *Richard 2.* ch. 5, for punishing counterfeiterers of false news, and lyes, of Prelates, Earls, Dukes, &c. of things which by them were never spoken, to the slander of the Prelates, &c. And the punishment was left to the discretion of the *King and Council.* And old *Bracton* records this ancient usage: *Si quis Machinatus fuerit, vel aliquid fecerit, &c.* If any one shall contrive or do any thing against the life of the King, or to make Sedition in his Army, or shall give consent or counsel there-to, although they effect not the mischief which they

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they designed; he shall be guilty of Treason. And accordingly one *John Bonnet* a Wool-man was drawn and hanged for scattering seditious Libels in *London*. In the 4th year of *Hen. 5.* as *Stow* relates, *Sir William Stanley*, a person of great valour, was condemned and executed as a Traitor, for saying (less than our *Author* doth) *That if he thought Perkin Warbeck to be the undoubted Son of Edward the 4th, he would never bear Arms against him.* And in the 9th year of *H. 7. Bagnal, Scot, Heath, and Kennington*, who had taken Sanctuary in *St. Martins le grand*, were taken out, and three of them executed, for forging *Seditious Bills* to the slander of the *King and Council*. The like proceedings were made against *Barrow, Greenwood, Penry, Udal*, and many others, who were condemned, and some of them executed for the like *Seditious Writings* against *Queen Eliz.* and her Government: concerning which I shall present to our Authors Her Majesties Proclamation.

By the QUEEN

A Proclamation against certain Seditious and Schismatical Books and Libels, &c.

THE Queens most Excellent Majesty,
Considering how within these few years
past,

past, and now of late, certain seditious & evil-disposed persons towards her Majesty, and the Government established for causes Ecclesiastical within her Majesties Dominions, have devised, written, printed, or caused to be seditiously and secretly published & dispersed, sundry schismatical and seditious Books, diffamatory Libels, and other phanatical Writings amongst her Majesties Subjects, containing in them Doctrine very erroneous, and other matters notoriously untrue, and slanderous to the State, and against the godly reformation of Religion and Government Ecclesiastical established by Law, and so quietly of long time continued, and also against the persons of Bishops, and others placed in authority Ecclesiastical under her Highness by her authority, in railing sort, and beyond the bounds of all good humanity: All which Books, Libels, and Writings, tend by their scope to perswade and bring in a monstrous and apparent dangerous Innovation within her Dominions and Countries, of all manner of Ecclesiastical Government now in use, and to the abridging, or rather to the overthrow of her Highness lawful Prerogative, allowed by Gods Law, and established by the Laws of the Realm, and consequently to reverse, dissolve, and set at liberty the present Government of the Church, and to make a dangerous change of the form of Doctrine, and use of Divine Service of God, and the Ministration of the Sacraments

ments now also in use, with a rash and malicious purpose also to dissolve the Estate of the Prelacy, being one of the three ancient Estates of this Realm under her Highness, whereof her Majesty mindeth to have such a reverend regard, as to their places in the Church and Commonwealth appertaineth. All which said lewd and seditious practices, do directly tend to the manifest wilful breach of great number of good Laws and Statutes of this Realm, inconveniencies nothing regarded by such Innovations.

In consideration whereof, her Highness graciously minding to provide some good and speedy Remedy to withstand such notable, dangerous, and ungodly Attempts, and for that purpose to have such enormous Malefactors discovered and condignly punished, doth signifie this her Highness misliking and indignation of such dangerous and wicked Enterprizes; and for that purpose doth hereby will and also straightly charge and command, that all persons whatsoever, within any her Majesties Realms and Dominions, who have or hereafter shall have any of the said seditious Books, Pamphlets, Libels, or Writings, or any of like nature already published, or hereafter to be published, in his or their custody, containing such matters as above are mentioned, against the present Order and Government of the Church of England, or the lawful Ministers thereof, or against the Rites and Ceremonies

remonies used in the Church, and allowed by the Laws of the Realm: That they and every of them do presently after, with convenient speed, bring in, and deliver up the same unto the Ordinary of the Diocess, or of the place where they inhabit, to the intent they may be utterly defaced by the said Ordinary, or otherwise used by them. And that from henceforth no person or persons whatsoever be so hardy as to write, contrive, print, or cause to be published or distributed, or to keep any of the same, or any other Books, Libels, or Writings of like nature and quality, contrary to the true meaning and intent of this her Majesties Proclamation. And likewise, that no man hereafter give any instruction, direction, favour, or assistance to the contriving, writing, printing, publishing, or dispersing of the same, or such like Books, Libels, or Writings whatsoever, as they tender her Majesties good favour, will avoid her high displeasure, and as they will answer the contrary at their uttermost perils: and upon such pains and penalties, as by the Law any way may be inflicted upon the offenders, in any of these behalfs, as persons maintaining such seditious actions, which her Majesty mindeth to have severely executed. And if any person have had knowledge of the Authors, Writers, Printers, or Dispersers thereof, which shall within one month after the publication hereof, discover the same to the Ordinary of the place where he

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had

had such knowledg, or to any of her Majesties Privy Council: the same person shall not for his former concealment be hereafter molested or troubled. Given at her Majesties Palace at Westminster, the thirteenth of February, 1588. In the One and thirtieth year of her Highness Reign.

God Save the Queen.

Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queens most Excellent Majesty. 1588.

Now, either our Authors knew these things, or no: if not, they may give me thanks for minding them of these Laws, some of which are still in force, which ought to bind up their hands from the like practices, lest they meet with the like punishment. Sure I am, they are obliged in Conscience, if not in Interest; timely to beg pardon, and make their Recantations as publick as their Crimes. But if they did know these things, and yet act so confidently and industriously against them, *Miror admodum ut quorum facta imitantur, eorum exitus non pertimescunt.* Certainly these men think themselves in some Utopian Commonwealth, *ubi sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias loqui licet*; where they think according to their own lusts, and talk as lavishly as they think: In

magn.

magna fortuna, minima licentia. Every action of our *Superiours*, every word, yea, the very thoughts and intentions of their hearts, are arraigned, censured, and condemned, as if *they* *only* were to be accountable: But as for the Mobile, *Nos numerus summus, & magno dominamur Atridi.* The confidence of their numbers makes them confident of *impunity*; and the *Priviledges of the People* far exceed the *Prerogative of the Prince.* *Quidvis impune facere, hoc Regium est.*

Though *other Restraints* have proved ineffectual, all the wholesome *Laws* of the Land, all the sad experiences of the national *plagues* of the *Sword, Fire, and Pestilence*, which have *fallen*, or rather have been *drawn* down on our own heads by our *Ingratitude* and *Rebellion* against *God* and our *Superiours*, have been baffled: yet those stronger ties of *Gods Commandments*, so plainly, so frequently, and under such intolerable penalties bound upon our very *Souls* and *Consciences*, should yet constrain us to live more *piously* and *peaceably* than hitherto we have done: Or at least the *Mercies* of *God*, who saved and redeemed us with an *out-stretched Arm*, and hath set over us the *meekest* and *most merciful* Prince on the Earth. His patience and long-suffering towards us after so long and heinous provocations, his defeating the bellish Plots of our

Adversaries, who unweariedly watch for an opportunitie to devour us, should at last lead us to Repentance, and cause us to *consider and do, in this our day, the things that belong to our peace, before they are hid from our eyes.*

Against the Sophistrie of such unreasonable men for *Resistance*, I shall oppose the Doctrine of the Apostle for *Obedience and Subjection*, which he delivers, *Rom. 13. Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation* v. 5. *Wherefore we must needs be subject, not onely for wrath, but also for conscience sake.*

O F

OBEDIENCE

ACTIVE & PASSIVE

Due to our

SUPERIOURS.

THose few *directions* of the Apostle, *Rom. 13. 1, 2, &c.* are so full and plain, that there needs no Comment on them, if men were not resolved against their dutie, and employed their wits to palliate their sins, and destroy their Souls. For from that Text we are taught,

1. That all lawful Government, the *origin* is from God; *The powers that be are ordained of God.*

2. That God often gives this Power to wicked men. The Powers that were in being when the Apostles wrote, were such as *Nero and Claudius*, Heathen Persecutors.

3. That in every Government there is a

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Supream or higher Power, that judgeth all, and can be judged of none; for without such a Power no Government can subsist.

4. That such Powers must be cheerfully obeyed in all things not contrary to the Will of God; paying them *Custom, Tribute, Honour*, and *Fear*, as to *Gods Ministers*.

5. That in things contrarie to the Will of God, as we ought not to obey, so we ought not to resist.

6. That the penaltie of *Resistance* is the Wrath of God, eternal *Damnation*.

7. That we are obliged as well not to resist in things contrarie to God's Will, as cheerfully to obey in things agreeable thereunto, *for conscience sake*; that is, in consideration of the Command of God, which layeth an Obligation on our Conscience.

1. *That all Government is originally from God.* This seems to be granted by our *Author*, and therefore I shall say the less concerning it; Mr. *Hunt* also asserting, p. 38. that *it is impossible any thing can be of mans appointment, which is of Gods ordination: There can be no such thing as a Co-legislative power of men with their Maker. Government therefore* (says he) *is of God, but the Specification thereof is of men: and the best definition that can be made of Government, is in the words of both the Apostles, ~~non sumus arbitrii illius~~ it is Gods Ordinance,*
but

but a *Humane Creature*: Wherein he contradicts himself as it were even in the same breath, having said immediately before, *It is impossible any thing can be of mans appointment which is of Gods ordination*, understanding it as he doth, not of the *Species*, but of the *Original Right and Authoritie* of Government: For p. 36. he demands, *Where is the Charter of Kings from God Almighty to be found? for nothing but the declared Will of God can warrant us----- to give up the Rights and Liberties of the people. If they are lawful, I am sure it is villanie to betray them.* Here you plainly see the people are encouraged to resist their Prince, on pretence of defending their *Rights and Liberties*, or else they are declared *Villains and Traitors*.

But let us examine the ground of this Assertion: He quotes 1 Pet. 2. 13. *Where (he says) the Apostle stiles Kings, as well as Governours under them, the Ordinance of man: which cannot have any other sence, but that men make them, and give them their power; and therefore (says he) when the Apostle calls the power of Government Gods Ordinance, it is because in general God approves of Governments; as it there were any Governours which were advanced if not Gratia Dei, as our stile hath it, yet Decreto ac Dono Divino; when Pilate himself, who condemned Christ, had his power given him from above.*

I wondered to read this, in a man that had shewed much diligence and reading (as to matters of Law) in his Treatise concerning the *Bishops Right*, thus to fault and prevaricate, in asserting (p. 36.) that *Kings have no Charter from God*. And my wonder is yet increased, when I read his *confident conclusion*. That *these two places could not be reconciled by any other interpretation but his own*. I am much inclined to think that Mr. *Hunt* knew a better way of reconciling these Scriptures; onely, finding no other offering themselves willingly to serve his Hypothesis, he thought to prels this of St. *Peter* to it. Now the designe that he drives is against the *Succession*, p. 42. which (says he) *is of a Civil nature, not established by any Divine Right*; ---and the *several limitations of the Descent of the Crown, must be made by the People in conferring the Royal Dignitie and Power*. Had Mr. *Hunt* talked at this rate in *Cromwel's* days, when he was about to make *himself a King*, it had been tolerable; but to talk thus in a Kingdom so long continued in a *Legal Succession*, and so well constituted, that nothing but such new suggestions are like to disturb it, needeth Pardon, though he expects Praise for it.

In other things I thought Mr. *Hunt* an ingenuous and bold man, that spake his own Sentiments, as if he were in *Civitate libera*; and

and I would willingly have excused him upon that account here, or as a man labouring under the *common fate* of such as meddle with *matters out of their Spheres*: for seldom meet we with such *Blunderers* as *Divines*, when they attempt the work of *Lawyers* and *States-men*; or *Lawyers*, when they invade the Office of the *Divine*. But none of these things can be pleaded in Mr. *Hunt's* excuse: for no doubt he had consulted with *such Divines* as wrote in the time of the *Late War*, at least such as *had a hand* in that War, and yet survived.

The *Assemblies Annotations* were at his hand; and I suppose he would have consulted them, or such as they were, (*i. e.*) no great friends to Kingly Government. Hear then what they say on the words *Ordinance of man*. By *Ordinance* is meant the framing and ordering of *Civil Government*; called the *Ordinance of man*, not because it is invented by, or hath its original from men; for all power is from God, Rom. 13. 1, 2. though sometime he useth men as means to derive Power or Government to such or such a person or persons, that so they might be the more willing to yield Obedience: but because it is proper to men, or because it is discharged by men. And on the word *Supreme* they note: There is therefore no other *Supreme on Earth* above the King in his *Dominions*.

Paræus

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Pareus is another common Author, and one whom Mr. *Hunt* probably would have consulted about this Opinion above others, he having written such things against the power of Kings as deserved to be committed publickly to the flames. *Quias* appellatio ad Deum primum autorem nos revocat; *The word Creature recalleth us to the consideration of God, who is the Prime Author of Magistracie: for though Magistrates are said to be created, that is, ordained by men, yet their first Creator properly is God alone.* Thus he, in the *Appendix* to his *Comment on Rom. 13. Dubio 3.*

And there he teacheth you plainly how to reconcile St. *Peter* with St. *Paul*, whom you make to contradict each other. *The Apostle* (says he) calls *Magistracie* a humane Ordinance, not causally, as it is devised by men, and set up at their pleasure; but subjectively, as it is administred by men; and objectively, as exercised about the government of humane Societies; or lastly, in respect of the end, as constituted of God for the benefit of men.

Calvin and *Beza*, and generally all the Modern Expositors, say the same: and whoever reads the words following, where this Ordinance of man is divided, to the King as Supreme, and to Governours sent by him, must needs acknowledge, that the Apostle speaks not of the thing, but the persons. *Omni personæ, omni prin-*

principatui, cui nos divina dispositio subdi voluit,
saith *Bede* on that place.

Dr. *Hammond's* Paraphrase I think is beyond all exception, because it perfectly reconciles the sence of *St. Peter* with that of *St. Paul*: for by every Ordinance of man, he understands every *Heathen Governour, every mortal Prince*. And his learned Notes do evince the truth of his interpretation; which being too long to insert, I refer the Reader to them, and shall onely give you his Reason, which is this: *That the Gnosticks, who had so early troubled the Church, taught, that Christian Servants and Subjects were not bound to obey their Heathen Masters and Magistrates; whereas the Apostle enjoyns them to obey both, not onely if they be good and gentle, but also if they be froward, if they be unbelievers.*

We may not make our *Libertie* a cloak for *Ambition* or *Rebellion*; and pretend to vindicate our *Countrie*, when we intend to enslave it: As *Antiochus*, who brought a great Armie into *Greece*, pretending to deliver it, when it was in a condition of Freedom and Prosperitie: And thus the *Lacedemonians* endeavouring to free themselves from one Tyrant, made way for *Thirtie* to domineer over them.

But Mr. *Hunt's* demand is, what Scripture we have for the *Kings Charter*. I answer, That
Saul

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Saul had a Charter, 1 Sam. 8. for God chose him: and how far it extended, read there, and *Skiccard de Jure Regum apud Hebræos*. And after God had rejected Saul, who had first rebelled against God, yet he hath the Title and the Reverence of the Lords Anointed given him by David still. And God himself calls Cyrus his Anointed (though a Heathen). And Daniel acknowledged of Nebuchadnezzar, The God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, strength, and glorie, Dan. 2. 47. These then had it not from the People.

Pilate himself, though an Inferiour Magistrate, had his Charter owned and submitted to by Christ himself. And when it is said in the Old Testament, By me Kings reign, Prov. 8. 15. and in the New, even of the Roman Emperours, such as Nero and Claudius, that they are ordained by God, and that our Obedience is due to them for the Lords sake, and for Conscience sake; He must be an Ignoramus, or worse, that can see in Scripture a Charter for the Peoples rights and power even to resist their Prince, and none for the Prince to vindicate his Authoritie over the People.

It would be irksome to the Reader to relate what is obvious in Heathen Writers concerning the Original of Kingly power. Nature did at first find out a King, saith Seneca: And Aristotle says, That by nature not onely the Father hath

both rule over his Children, but also the King over those that are within his Kingdom. This is the Government that God himself erected from the beginning, giving to Adam a Patriarchal, which is tantamount to a Monarchal power. This he granted to Israel, and continued to the coming of Christ. To this power in the Romans, Christ and his Apostles submit themselves, and command every Soul to follow their examples: and all the Primitive Christians did so, till the Pope of Rome, to the great scandal of Christianitie, invaded the Thrones, and usurped the power of their lawful Emperours. Gregory the Seventh, Pope Urbane, and Paschal were the first that stirred up Subjects against their Princes, and the Son against his Father.

We are taught (saith Polycarp) to yield Obedience to all Principalities under God, except in things destructive to our Souls. Therefore do as you please; cast me to wild beasts or the fire, which is not to be compared to that eternal fire prepared for the ungodly. In the Constitutions of Clemens, it is declared a hainous sin to resist the Prince: and the Councils for 1200 years taught no other Doctrine. And when those Popes first turned Rebels, and proceeded so imperiously as to Excommunicate the Bishop and Church-men of Liege for adhering to the Emperour, and stirred up Robert Earl
of

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of *Flanders* to destroy all that Clergie; they wrote a most excellent Epistle, declaring, *That they never had heard of any such Doctrine or Practice from any of the Fathers, and that they had observed fearful Judgments of God falling on such as did rebel against their Princes.* And so it fell out: for all the Popes great Instruments, *Radolphus*, and *Herman*, and *Egbert*, were cut off; and gave the World *magnum Documentum*, a severe Caution not to rise up against their Princes, no not for the sake of an *Infallible Pope*.

This was the sence of the Primitive Fathers. *Irenæus* proves it by Scripture, and concludes, *By whose command they are born men, by his command they are made Princes.* So *Tertul.* *Inde Imperator, unde homo; inde potestas, unde Spiritus. It is God (saith Origen) who setteth up Kings, and removeth them; and in his own time raiseth up such a one as is useful to the State: Contra Celsum. Theophilus Bishop of Antioch; I will honour the King, not adoring him, but praying for him; knowing that by God the King is ordained.* So *Athenagoras*, of *Aurelius* and his Son *Commodus*, says, *They had received the Kingdom from above.* *St. Basil* also on *Psal. 32.* *The Lord setteth up Kings, and removeth them; and there is no power but what is ordained of God.* And to conclude with *Greg. Nazianzen*, concerning the Power of the Gover-

Governor of his Province, *Orat. 17.* to the Citizens of *Antioch*, That together with *Christ* he did rule the people committed to his charge; that from him he had received the Sword, and was to be accounted as the Image of God. So *S. Chrysostom*: And if we reverence those Officers that are chosen by the King, though they be wicked, though they be Thieves and Robbers, not despising them for their wickedness, but standing in awe of them for the dignitie of him that elected them; much more ought we thus to do in the case of God, and the King chosen by him. *Serm. 1. of David and Saul.*

So that even wicked Princes have a Charter from God. So, our Saviour said of *Pilate*, *Joh. 19. 11.* Thou couldest have no *inferiour* authoritie or power against me, except it were given thee from above. And *St. Paul* of the Roman Emperors, There is no power but of God, the powers that be, are ordained of God; and he that resists, resisteth the Ordinance of God. And that *St. Peter* says the same, though in other words, hath been made evident: Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether to the King as supreme: for so is the will of God, *1 Pet. 2. 13-15.*

St. Augustine, de Civitate Dei, l. 5. c. 21. Regnum terrenum dat Deus piis & impiis: Qui *Mario*, ipse *Caio Cæsari*; qui *Augusto*, ipse & *Neroni*, &c. God gives an Earthly King-

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Kingdom both to good and evil Princes: He that gave it to Marius, gave it to Caius Cæsar; he that gave it to Augustus, gave it to Nero; he who gave it to the Vespasians, Father and Son, most mild and loving Emperours, gave it likewise to that most cruel man Domitian: And not to recount them all, he that gave it to that Christian Prince Constantine, gave it to that Apostate Julian. These things, without doubt, that one and true God doth rule and govern as he pleaseth, although for secret causes, yet not for unjust. So the Prophet, Dan. 2. 37. Thou, O King, art a King of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, strength, and glorie. And chap. 5. 21. The most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, chap. 4.

And as God setteth them in the Throne, so he rules by them, and over-rules them, guiding all their actions to his own just and wise ends. If all the Princes of the World should conspire, they can do no more than *what Gods hand and counsel have determined before to be done*, Acts 4. 28. God knows how to effect good and gracious ends, even by wicked Kings. He made Cyrus an Instrument to build him a House in Jerusalem, 2 Chron. 36. 23. and calls Nebuchadnezzar his Servant, Jer. 25. 9. *The heart of the King is in the hands of the Lord as the rivers of water; he turneth it*

it whithersoever he pleaseth. He can restrain the spirits of Princes, as he did *Abimelech*, and not suffer them to touch his People. He can cause the wrath of man to turn to his praise. He stirred up the spirit of *Cyrus* to deliver the Jews from the Captivitie of *Babylon*, *Ezra* 1. 1. He made *Darius* and *Artaxerxes* instrumental in building and beautifying the House of the Lord, *Ezra* 6. 22. and chap. 7. 27.

Wherefore, as the Psalmist says, *Psal.* 97. 1. *The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoyce: let the multitude of the isles be glad thereof.* For though *Clouds* and *Darkness* are round about him, and we cannot see the reason or end of his Providences; yet *Righteousness* and *Judgment* are the habitation of his Throne, v. 2. Were the Almighty like the *Epicureans* God, that could not intend the affairs of the world without great trouble, and therefore retired himself, and left all to *Chance*, we might then think it fit to chuse for our selves: but when every Choice and every Chance is ordered by the Almighty and wise God; when it is said, *1 Sam.* 18. 18. The people had chosen *Saul*, chap. 10. 24. it is said, *The Lord* had chosen him. And if the Magistrate be chosen by *Lot*, yet, as *Solomon* says, *Prov.* 16. 33. *The Lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord.* We may not say therefore as that Prince did, *2 King.* 6. 33. when

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God

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God had sent a Famine in *Samaria*, *This evil is from the Lord, why should I wait on him any longer?* much less should we resist the established Ordinance of Heaven: for, if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God, *Acts 5. 39.* in whose all-wise dispensations we ought to acquiesce, and patiently to submit to them.

When *Jeroboam* rebelled against *Rehoboam* a wicked Prince, you may find what a black character he and his Confederates have in the Scripture, *2 Chron. 13. 5.* *Ought you not to know that the Lord God of Israel gave the kingdom over Israel to David and to his sons for ever, by a covenant of salt? yet Jeroboam the servant of Solomon the son of David is risen up, and hath rebelled against his Lord. And there are gathered to him VAIN MEN THE CHILDREN OF BELIAL, and have strengthened themselves against Rehoboam when he was young and tender-hearted, and could not withstand them. And now ye think to withstand the kingdom of the Lord in the hands of the sons of David.--v. 12.* O ye children of Israel, fight ye not against the Lord God of your fathers: for ye shall not prosper. From this Scripture these Observations are obvious.

1. That

1. That a Succession to the Crown, *Jure Divino*, is no new thing, v. 5.

2. That it is no Excuse for breaking Gods Command, to plead we followed Providence.

3. That to rebel against an evil Prince, such as Rehoboam was, is to rebel against the Lord, v. 8.

4. That such as strengthen such a Rebellion, are Sons of Belial, v. 7.

5. That the Kings hearkning to evil Counsellors, is no sufficient Plea to warrant a Rebellion.

6. Nor his oppressing the People.

7. That notwithstanding their great numbers (*Jeroboam* having eight hundred thousand chosen men of valour) they shall not prosper, v. 12. and v. 17. there fell with *Jeroboam* five hundred thousand men of valour.

8. That *Rehoboam* was not so bad, but *Jeroboam* was much worse: for he made all *Israel* to sin, setting up *Calves* as Gods, for the People to worship; whereas under *Rehoboam* the Worship of God was preserved (though the People were oppressed) v. 10. The Lord is our God, and we have not forsaken him; and the Priests which minister to the Lord, are the sons of Aaron, and the Levites wait upon their business.

Q²

2. That

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9. That after that bad King, God sent other, good ones, to establish his Worship : and therefore we must wait the Lords leisure, and not murmur against, nor resist his Ordinance and Decrees, but submit to the hand of God, who often punisheth a *wicked People* by an *unrighteous Prince*.

HOW

HOW FAR

Wicked Princes

Ought to be obeyed.

I. **N**egatively: not in any thing contrary to the *revealed Will* of God: to all Gods Laws they are bound themselves, *Deut.* 17. 18. And God will call them to a more severe account than others, there being greater obligations laid on them, and their evil Examples like to do more hurt. And much more are we bound to obey those Laws of God which oblige the greatest Potentates, above any Laws of men. 'Tis St. *Augustine's* Gradation, *De Verbis Dom.* Ser. 6. *If thy Curator command thee any thing, must it not be done? yet if the Proconsul countermand it, thou despisest not thy Curator, but serveest a greater. And if the Emperour command one thing, and God another, what do you judge fit to be done?* And it is resolved thus: *Da veniam Imperator; tu carcerem, ille Gehem-*

nam minatur : We ought to obey God rather than man.

2. Positively: In all things that are not contrary to Gods Will, we ought cheerfully to obey: So St. *Basil de Sic* *ἡρώδης δὲ οὐκ ἠπακούσεν*, *Regula Ethic.* 79. *Where the Command of God doth not hinder or interpose.* For otherwise they have no power at all. Whatever is really good, God hath commanded us already, and forbidden whatever is evil; but hath left the command of things indifferent to his *Vicegerents*, to judge of the expedience and usefulness of them: And if we obey them not in this, we obey them in nothing. Which is well expressed by *Aulus Gellius* a *Heathen*, in the person of a Father commanding either what is right or what is wrong. *If it be right, it is to be done, not because he commands it, but justice requires it: If it be wrong, it ought not to be done, because it is unjust; and therefore the Father is not to be obeyed in anything.* To this *Aulus Gellius* answers, that the division is imperfect, because there are things of a middle nature, wherein the Father is to be obeyed with a filial ingenuity and readiness: which is much more strong in behalf of the Prince.

The word used by the Apostle is *ὑποτάσσειν*, a military word, signifying to be under command: and as the *Centurion* said of his Soldiers, *Matth.* 8. 9. *If I say to this man, Go, he goeth*

goeth; to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my Servant, Do this, and he doeth it. And thus the Centurion did himself: for he was *ἐν ἰσχύϊ* under Authority. And such obedience we must yield, as St. Paul requires by Titus 3. 1. where to the *ἐκπαίδευσιν* he addes, *παρασκευάζειν*, (i. e.) *dicto obedire*, and to be ready to every good work.

We ought to obey even a Popish Prince, saith Mr. Baxter. And there can be no question but we ought to obey them in what God hath commanded: *We ought to pay them Tribute and Custom*, as Tertullian testifies of the *Primitive Christians*: we ought to shew them *Reverence, Honour, and Fear*: we ought, as good and profitable Members of the Commonwealth, diligently to follow our Callings, and advance the Trade and happiness of the Nation: We ought to defend their Persons, and fight their Battles against their Enemies; and in extraordinary cases, to give them extraordinary assistance. *We bring unto you*, said Justine Martyr to Antonius, *more help and Tribute than all others, being taught by our Lord to give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsars*: We ought to pray for the welfare of them and their people, that with and under them we may lead quiet and peaceable lives. So Tertullian prayed for Domitian a great Tyrant, for his long Life, secure Empire, stout Armies, faith-

ful Senators, & quæcunque hominis & Cæsaris vota sunt. We ought to bless God for the *good things* we enjoy under them; we ought not to *envy* at their *prosperitie*, to *murmur* and *repine* at every *severe Dispensation*; but to our *Prayers* joyn *Intercessions* and *Thanksgivings*: for though there be some *Evils* in their Government, yet there would be more, if that Government should be turned into *Anarchy* and *Confusion*.

Si ubi jubeantur (Milites) quærere singulis liceat, pereunte obsequio, etiam Imperium intercidit, as Tacitus, l. 1. If Souldiers be permitted to dispute the Commands of their General, the whole Empire may fall on the neglect of obedience. It was a severe Counsel given by St. Augustine (Epist. 73.) to Possidonius: Rather think what course you ought to take with them that will not obey, than to convince them that what they do is unlawful. And in truth, there would be endless *Dissentions*, if every Subject should be permitted to dispute the lawfulness of such Commands as are enjoyned him, not by his Prince alone, but by the *mature deliberation* of his Council; especially when, as it is with us, every one hath his vote in choosing those Counsellors, that in our names consent to the Laws. This were to do what is foretold by Solomon, Prov. 20. 25. After vows to make enquiry.

It is a pernicious Opinion, that hath infected too many of this Age, *That though we do not actively obey the Princes Commands, yet if we submit to the Penalty, the Law is satisfied, and we are free from guilt.* In answer to which, I say:

1. That *Obedience* is more than *Non-resistance*; it must be *active* and *cheerful*, as in *paying Tribute* and *Custom*, so in other parts of obedience; to *go* and *come*, and *do what is commanded*.

2. *Suffering, or paying the penaltie*, is not the chief intention of the Law; but the duty of *Obedience*, without which the *ends of Government* will be frustrated, *viz. Peace and good Order*.

3. The Law of God enjoyns us to obey the Laws of men that are not contrary to his Law. Now though we satisfy the Law of our Country by *bearing the penalty*, yet the Law of God is not thereby satisfied; that Law requires *Repentance* and *Amendment*, (*i. e.*) that we do so no more. As in that instance of *frequenting Divine Service*, we do not think a *Papist* hath *satisfied the Law* when he pays Twelve pence; neither indeed do others: For it is Gods Law that is broken, who commands us *not to forsake the publick Assemblies*; and to *obey them that have the rule over us*: For we are to obey for *Conscience*

ence sake, (i. e. because of the obligation which the Command of God hath laid upon us). And when the Magistrate calls for our obedience in this or that particular which is not against Gods Word, God commands our obedience to him, he having Gods Authority in such cases; and to disobey, is not onely to disobey man, but God: Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, and for Conscience sake: and the penalty of disobedience is damnation.

So that it is an *Atheistical Suggestion*, that *Rulers and Tyrants* did first *invent Religion*, to keep men in awe. For although no other *Terrours* are sufficient to keep men in obedience but those of *Hell* and *eternal Damnation*, because men may carry on their mischievous designs so *secretly*, or with such a *high hand*, as to escape punishment in this life; yet it is not *man* but *God* that requireth obedience even to humane Laws, under the *Severest Sanctions* of *Eternal Death*.

Object. But what if the thing commanded be not *good*? then we owe *no Obedience*: for the Magistrate is no longer *Gods Minister* than he commands *for God*: When he commands *against God*, he commands *without Authority*, and so we may *disobey him* without sin.

Answ. There are but two *Rules* whereby we are to judge whether the Commands
of

of our Superiours are *good* or *not*.

The first is the Law of *God*; and when we make *that* our Rule, we must be as *sure* that the Word of *God* *condemns* what the Magistrates *command*, as we are sure that *God* commands us *to obey* our Magistrate: And in all reason we should chuse what is our most *plain* and *indispensable duty*, before that which is *doubtful*; especially when the penalty of *not obeying* is no less than *Damnation*: for that is the *wages of sin*, or disobedience to *Gods* Law.

2. A second Rule is the Laws of *men*, which do *bind the Conscience* when the Command is not contrary to *Gods* Word. So that the *Case* to be *resolved* is onely this: What we must do when the *Magistrate* commands things which we *judge* not expedient. In which case, considering especially *our circumstances*, the *Laws established* being such as we *ourselves* have *consented to*, it is too late for us to dispute the *inexpediency* of them; for so there can never be an *establishment*, it being impossible to make such Laws as *may* not be excepted against by *some*, especially *such as transgress the Laws*. In such cases therefore, the *Magistrate*, not the *Subject*, is to *expound* the Law.

It is sufficient that the Laws have a *tendencie* to the *publick* and more *general good*, though
some

some private men may suffer in the Execution of them: And when *resisting* those Laws which are made, will do more *hurt* than good, we ought to *obey them*, though we *suffer unjustly* in so doing. As Dr. *Sanderſon* gives an instance in *Souldiers* who for their *Cowardiſe*, or some *other crime*, are adjudged to be punished in a way of *Decimation*, (*i. e.* every tenth man): now although some of those that suffer may be *guiltless* and *valiant* men, yet the *private inconvenience* must be *endured*, rather than a *publick mischief* should be *tolerated*. Of this the *Learned Casuiſt* speaks so largely and satisfactorily, that I shall refer my Reader to his last *Prælection*, p. 356. *De Obligatione Conscientiæ*.

When we are commanded to do what we apprehend not to be for our good, we must have a double consideration: First, to the *person commanding*, who is *Gods Minister*, and therefore may not be *resisted*, though, in the second place, he *abuse his power* in commanding what is *not good* or *lawful*: For if in this case we *resist*, we *usurp* the Power, and *invade* and *destroy* the *Order* and *Government* that God hath set over us. If we might *resist* when we *apprehend* that we are commanded things against our *Religion*, our *Laws*, or *Liberties*, then there could be no such thing as *Rebellion*; and then there would not long be any
such

such thing as *Religion, Libertie, or Govern-
ment* in the world. Doubtless the Apostle
was sensible what kind of Governours were
in *Rome* when he wrote his Epistle, name-
ly, such as commanded for the most part
things that were *impious*; yet we read not
of any *resistance*: and doubtless *those Primi-
tive Christians* best knew the Apostles mind,
and practised accordingly.

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THE
REASONS

For not resisting

Wicked Princes.

BEcause, 1. He is *Gods Minister*. For *the Lords sake*, we must submit, saith *St. Peter*, and for *Conscience sake* (i. e.) for the *Obligation* that God hath laid upon us as he is *Gods Minister*. This swayed with *David*: He was *the Lords Anointed*, and therefore, he could not lift up a hand against him: nor would *St. Paul* speak evil of any of the *Rulers of the People*. For, to speak evil of them, is accounted as *Blasphemy*, and *Disobedience* is as *Sacriledge*: And, as *St. Paul*, *A resisting of the Ordinance of God*.

Obi. As he is *Gods Minister for good*, we are ready to obey him; but when he commands what is *evil*, he is no longer *Gods Minister*, but the *Devils*, and we ought not to obey him.

Ans.

Ans. He is *Gods Minister* still as to his Office, though in respect of the *abuse* of it by *unrighteous Actions*, he do the work of the *Devil*. And many times God placeth *cruel* and *unrighteous Kings*, (as a *just Judgment*) over an *unrighteous people*; according to the *Imprecation* of *David* against those that were enemies to so good a King, *Set thou an ungodly man to have rule over them.*

Regis quando boni sunt, muneris est Dei; quando mali, sceleris est populi. When good Kings bear rule, it is a token of Gods Favour; when wicked ones, it is the effect of the peoples Iniquity. As *Job* says, Chap. 34. 30. *juxta Septuag.* *Regnare facit Hypocritam, propter peccata populi.* God takes away good Kings in his anger, and sets evil ones in their rooms: yea, many times, for the sins of the people, he permits good Princes to fall, as he did *David* in numbring the people, that they and their King might suffer under a common Calamity. It is an observation of *Aeneas Sylvius, de Ortu Imperij*, c. 16. *Deus sæpe propter peccata Subditorum deprivari permittit vitam Rectorum.* When *Rehoboam* hearkned to evil Counsellors, 1 *Kin.* 12. 15. *The Cause was from the Lord, that he might bring to pass his saying, &c.*

Now who shall judge whether the thing commanded be for our good or not? We have very plain precepts which require our Obedience
to

to Princes in all things that are not against the word of God : And we ought to have *as plain precepts* Affirmative or Negative for the things that we resolve *to do or not to do* according to the Kings command : *i. e.* Nothing can *justifie* our disobedience to our Prince, except there be as plain *Scripture-proofs* for the *intrinsical evil* of the *action commanded*, as there are for the *necessity* of *Christian Obedience*. Where is it said, *Te must needs disobey your Prince when he commands you to worship God in the publick assemblies, or to pray uncovered, or to receive the Sacrament on your knees ;* as it is said, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers ;* and, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man ;* and, *Obey Magistrates and them that have the rule over you ?*

In this one *Common Good* of *Order and Government*, many good things are included: for, as *Cicero* said, *de Legibus* 3. *Without Government, neither House, City, or Nation, nor Mankind, nor Nature, nor the World it self could subsist.* And *St. Chrysostom* on *Rom. Hom. 23.* *Take away the higher Power, and all goes to wrack ; neither City, nor Family, nor Assembly, or any thing else can stand ; the stronger will devour the weaker, and all things be turned upside down.* It is therefore concluded by all *Wise men*, *That a bad Prince is better than none.* For a *demonstration* whereof, the *Persians*

hians after their Kings death permitted the people to live in a *Lawless* manner for five days together, that after the experience of the outrages and violences committed in the *inter-regnum*, they might be the more *endeared* to their *Prince*. Consonant to which is that in *Judges*, chap. 21. 16. when *there was no King in Israel, every one did that which was right in his own eyes*: which made them on any terms to desire a *King*.

2. We are to *obey* them, that we may silence the ignorance of foolish men, that think and speak evil of *Christianity*, as if it set up *Christs Kingdom* against *Cæsars*, and a good *Christian* could not be a good *Subject*; which *slanders* we should confute by our *peaceable conversations*: and this will gain us *favour at home*, by mitigating the *Princes displeasure*; or *toleration abroad*, if we be put to *flie for our lives*, when it shall be known that we are of *peaceable and patient Conversations*.

The *Christian Religion* was from the beginning reproached as a *disturber* of the *Secular powers*; and therefore it was the *Care* of *Christ* to clear his *Disciples* from this *Crime*, by *paying tribute*, and *living in subjection* to the *Rulers* of this world, that he might give them *no offence*. And the *Apostles* knowing that they were reported to be *Seditious*, and such as would turn the world upside down, have

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taken

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taken all possible care to undeceive the *enemies* of the Gospel, by obliging the *professors* thereof to obey their Rulers, under the greatest obligations that the wit of men could invent.

So that in case the King do command such things as are *evidently forbidden* by God, we see what is then to be done: we must peaceably acquiesce in the providence of God; as Tacitus said, we may *bonos Imperatores voto expetere quoscunq; tolerare*, l. 4. Submit to them as Instruments and Rods in the hand of God, correcting or punishing us for our sins. God hath the devil himself in a Chain, and hath set bounds unto him: as in the case of Job, whose life he could not take away, nor go beyond Gods Commission. Commit your selves therefore to God in well doing, who hath said, *Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it*. And as David to Saul, 1 Sam. 24. 12. *The Lord judge between thee and me, and the Lord avenge me of thee; but my hand shall not be upon thee*: or, as in 1 Sam. 26. 10. *The Lord shall smite him, or his day shall come to dye, or he shall descend into the battel and perish: the Lord forbid that I should stretch forth my hand against the Lords Anointed*.

We may not impute all that we suffer to our enemies; the hand of God is in it, and we must (as David did) acknowledge it to be the
Lords

Lords doing. We must receive evil at the hands of God, as well as good; and bless him when he takes away, as well as when he continues his Mercy to us. *Jer. 29. 7.* The Jews were commanded to seek the peace of that City (though it were Babylon) wherein they were Captives, and to pray to the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof ye shall have peace: and doubtless in the disturbance of it, they were like to be the first and greatest sufferers.

Obj. But may we not resist wicked Princes when they unjustly seek our destruction?

Ans. This (says our Author) is the *Mahometan* Doctrine of the *Bow-string*: which I think is a most scandalous, if not blasphemous expression. For this example our Saviour hath set us, who though most innocent and most afflicted, yet was most patient under all his sufferings: and we must look to Jesus the Author and Finisher of our Faith. And it is directly contrary to *1 Pet. 2. 19.* where, in the judgment of all Expositors, we are in the same manner to obey Magistrates as Masters, (i. e.) though we suffer wrongfully, to take it patiently, as our Saviour hath given example, who when he suffered he threatned not, &c. Read chap. 4. 12, 13. and chap. 3. 14, 15, &c.

Those Christians who wrote their *Apologies* to the *Emperours* and *Governours* that were

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then persecuting of them, would not dare to speak any thing but what was an *apparent truth*; yet they all *disclaim* the practice of *Resistance*, as contrary to the Doctrine that they had received, *viz.* to be *Subject to the Higher Powers, &c.* Thus *Justine Martyr, Lactantius, Athenagoras, Cyprian, &c.* I shall name one for all. *We are defamed* (saith *Tertull. ad Scapulam*) *touching the Imperial Majestie*; yet never were *Christians found to be Albinians, Nigrians, or Cassians*: (*i. e.*) they never sided with any *Factions* against the *Emperours*; though if they had so done, their numbers were so great, that they might have overthrown his Forces: They might in one night with a few *Fire-brands* *avenge themselves*, if they held it *lawful* to revenge evil with evil. Had we been minded to profess open *Hostilitie*, could we want numbers of men, or force of Arms? we have filled your *Islands, Castles, Towns, Tents, Tribes, and Wards*, yea even the *Palace, Senate, and place of Judgement*. For what War were not we able, though fewer in number than you, who go so willingly to our *Martyrdom*, if it were not more lawful in our Religion to be slain than to slay? And yet under all their *Persecutions* they multiplied: *Ligabantur, includebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniebantur*; & tamen *multiplicabantur*, saith *St. Augustine, de Civit. Dei, l. 22. c. 6.*

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Grotius, l. 1. c. 4. *de Jure Belli*, &c. speaking of that Sacred *Maxime* of the Apostles, Acts 4. *It is better to obey God than man*, discourseth thus: 'If either for this (*i. e.* our 'obedience to God) or for any other cause, 'he that hath the Sovereign power offer us 'an injurie, it ought rather to be patiently 'tolerated, than forcibly resisted: for al- 'though we do not owe an Active Obedi- 'ence to such Commands of Princes, yet we 'do owe a Passive: we may not transgress 'the Laws of God or Nature for the pleasure 'of the greatest Monarch, yet ought we ra- 'ther patiently to submit to what shall be in- 'flicted on us for disobeying, than by resi- 'stance to disturb our Countries peace. The 'best and safest course, in such a case, is either 'to preserve our selves by flight, or resolutely 'to undergo whatever shall be imposed on 'us. His Reason is cogent: Because Civil 'Societies being instituted for the preserva- 'tion of Peace, there accrues to that Com- 'monwealth a greater Right over us and ours, 'so far as is necessarie for that end.---And if a 'promiscuous Right of forcible Resistance 'should be tolerated, it would be no longer a 'Commonwealth, (*i. e.*) a Sanctuarie a- 'gainst Oppression, but a confused Rabble.

For this, among other things, he quotes that noted Saying, '*Principi Summum rerum*

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arbitrium dii dederunt, subditis obsequii gloria relicta est. God hath given to Princes
 the Sovereign power, leaving to us the glorie of Obedience. If a Souldier resist his
 Captain, striking him, and but lays hold of
 his Weapon, he is casheered ; if he break it,
 or strike again, he shall be put to death.
 That this was the *Hebrew Law*, he proves
 from *Josh. 1. 18. 1 Sam. 8. 11. Deut. 17. 14.*
 which he so expounds, ' That the Governours
 may not be resisted, though they command
 what is not right. And therefore it is ad-
 ded in that place of *Samuel, v. 18.* that when
 the people are so oppressed by their King,
 that there is no remedie, they are to invoke
 his help who is the Supreme Judge of Hea-
 ven and Earth. And when our Saviour
 commands in the New Testament to give
Cæsar his due, he intended doubtless that
 they should yield as great, if not greater O-
 bedience, both Active and Passive, unto the
 Higher Power, than what was due from the
 Jews; which *St. Paul (Rom. 13.)* expounds
 more largely, and chargeth those that *resist*
the power of Kings with no less Crime than
rebellion against Gods Ordinance, and with a
 Judgment as great as their sin. So that as
 there is a necessitie for our *Subjection*, there
 is also for our *Not Resisting* : Wherefore the
 Powers set over us are to be obeyed, not ser-
 vilely,

‘ vilely, superstitiously, or out of fear ; but
 ‘ with free, rational, and generous Spirits, *tan-*
 ‘ *quam à diis dati*, as being Gods Ordinance ;
 ‘ and being *commissioned* by him, cannot do
 ‘ more or less than he *orders* and *permits* them
 ‘ to do.

‘ Another reason is drawn from our benefit,
 ‘ the Government being constituted *for our*
 ‘ *good*, and therefore in conscience *not to be*
 ‘ *resisted* : for the Apostles Argument respects
 ‘ that *universal good* for which *Government* was
 ‘ first instituted , (*i. e.*) the *publick Peace*,
 ‘ wherein every one is concerned more than
 ‘ in his private.---Now he that *resists*, doth as
 ‘ much as in him lies *dissolve* his Countries
 ‘ *Peace*, and so will *burie* himself in the *Ruines*
 ‘ of it at the end ; and were it not for *Go-*
 ‘ *vernments*, a *Kingdom* would be but like a
 ‘ great *Pond*, wherein the *bigger* Fishes devour
 ‘ the *lesser*. *Omnia erit fortiorum.*

‘ *Object.* The Commands of Princes do not
 ‘ *alway* tend to the *publick good* ; and when
 ‘ they decline from that *end*, they are not to
 ‘ be obeyed.

‘ *Ansiv.* Though the Supreme Magistrate
 ‘ doth sometime, through fear, anger, lust, or
 ‘ other passions, *swerve* from the path of *Ju-*
 ‘ *stice* and *Equitie* ; yet these hapning but *sel-*
 ‘ *dom*, are to be past by as *personal blemishes* .
 ‘ which, as *Tacitus* observes, are abundantly

‘ recompensed by the benefit of *better Princes*.
 ‘ --- Laws may be called *good*, though they fit
 ‘ not *every mans* case, if they obviate such dis-
 ‘ orders as are frequently practised, and so do
 ‘ good to the *generalitie* of the People. Thus
Grotius.

If the *People* may resist their *Prince*, I would know in what *Cases* it may be done. It may be done (say some) in case of *Religion*, when that is in *danger*; in case of *Libertie*, when that is *invaded*; in case of *Oppression*, when that is *heavie*; in case of the *King's* exercising an *Arbitrarie* power; in case of *his* denying his *Peoples Priviledges* and *Immunities*. Nay, we have known that meer *Fears* and *Jealousies*, which were *fancied* onely to promote a *Rebellion*, have been used as an Argument to justify it.

But will any of these things justify the *resistance* of a *Son* against his *Father*, or a *Servant* against his *Master*? Or if we may make the *People* Judges of the *lawfulness* of resisting in *one* or *more* of these *Cases*, why may they not in *all*, and in as many *more* as they shall please to be sufficient?

But if any cause can justify *Resistance*, it must be that of *Religion*; and, if any *Religion*, that which is the *true Religion*. Now if we admit the *Christian Religion* to be the *truest Religion*, that condemns *Resistance* above any
 other,

other, as hath been demonstrated by its *Precepts*, and the *practice* of those *Primitive Christians*, who best knew the sense and the mind of our *Saviour* in those *Precepts*: and if any *Christians* should maintain the contrarie, it would give the *Princes of the World* a just occasion to be *jealous* of it, and *root it out* of their *Dominions*: for what *Prince* would permit any *such number* of men to *abide* and *multiply* in their *Dominions*, that profess it to be *lawful* to make *resistance* against them?

Besides, there are few men bred up in any *Religion*, but they think their *own* to be the *true Religion*: and then they may *resist* their *Prince*, how false and destructive soever it be; and so a *Papist* or *Anabaptist*, a *Jew* or a *Pagan*, may think it *lawful* for them to *resist*; and so *no Prince* can be secure of the *Obedience* of his *People*. Therefore we must take away all *pretences* of the *lawfulness* of *Resistance*, or we must grant *All pretences* to be *lawful* that the *People* shall judge so to be. Therefore the *Scripture* hath *forbidden resistance* in any *case*, as our *Law*, grounded on *Scripture* and *Reason*, hath also done, on any *pretence* whatsoever.

It had been enough to oppose Bishop *Usher's* sole Judgment against our Author's. Bishop *Usher*, of the power of *Princes*, p. 214. The *patience* of the *Saints* was not onely seen in the
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Primitive Persecutions, but continued as well under the *Arian Emperours*, who retaining the name of *Christians*, did endeavour with all their power to advance that damnable *Heretic*; but also under *Julian himself*, who utterly revolted from the very profession of the Name of *Christ*. *St. Augustine* observed the same, on *Psal. 124*. *Julian was an Infidel, an Apostate, and Idolater*; yet, *Milites Christiani servierunt Imperatori Infideli*; *Christian Souldiers served this Heathen Emperour*. When they came to the Cause of *Christ*, they would acknowledge no Lord but him in Heaven; but when he said, *Go forth to fight, Invade such a Nation*, they presently obeyed: They were subject to their Temporal Lord, for his sake that was their Eternal Lord.

The *Arian Persecution* by *Constantius* (who had also Apostatized from the true Faith) was as violent, and of much longer continuance than that of *Julian*; yet though the *Christians* had then (as you pretend) the Laws on their side, they made no resistance. I am constrained to repeat this again, because I meet with a contrary Assertion in *Mr. Hunt*, p. 153. I must remember him (saith he) out of *Socrates*, *Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 38*. when the *Souldiers of the Arian Emperour Constantius* were by his command sent to enforce them to become *Arians*, they took Arms in defence of their Religion:

ligion. Where I perceive, as great a Lawyer as Mr. *Hunt* is, he hath taken honest *John Milton* into his Consult; who says, *Chap. 44.* of the *Primitive Christians* (*Idem bellum Constantio indixerunt, & quantum in se erat, Imperio & vita spoliarent*) *That they waged War with Constantius, and as much as in them lay, spoiled him of his Life and Empire.* This being said by *Milton*, how notoriously false soever, Mr. *Hunt* is ready to assert the truth of it, and makes an offer of as good *Authoritie* for it, as ever *Milton* did for the *Kings Condemnation*; as will appear by the History.

This passage refers us to a horrible Relation of the *Arian Persecution* acted by *Macedonius*, who procured *Edicts* from that *Emperour* to force the *Christians* to the *Arian* infidelity. The History begins *chap. 27.* *Macedonius* after the death of *Paul* Bishop of *Constantinople* (who was banished first, and then slain in exile by the *Arians*, *Athanasius* hardly escaping them) enters on those Churches, who having great power with the *Emperour*, stirred up as great Wars and Cruelties between the *Christians* themselves, as any that were acted by the Tyrants; and he got his impious actings to be confirmed by the *Emperours* *Edicts*. Presently he proclaims the *Edicts* in all the Cities, and the Souldiers are enjoyned to assist him: The *Orthodox* are banished not onely from

from their Churches, but their Cities-- Then they constrain the people against their wills to communicate with the *Arians*, and used as great violence as ever any of those used that forced the Christians to the worshipping of Idols, applying Whips, Tortures, and all kind of Cruelties. Some were Sequestred of all their Goods; others Banished; many died under their Torments; and those that were to be Banished, were slain in the way. These Cruelties were practised throughout all the Cities of the East-part of the Empire, especially at *Constantinople*.

This Persecution when *Macedonius* was made Bishop, was increased more than before: of which *Socrates*, in *chap. 38*, gives a fuller relation, *p. 142*, *Edit. Valefii*: That he then persecuted not onely *Catholicks*, but the *Novatians* also, who agreed with the *Catholicks* in the *Consubstantiality*. Both were oppressed with intolerable mischiefs. *Agellius* the Bishop of the *Novatians* is forced to flee; but many, eminent for their piety, were apprehended and tormented for refusing to communicate with them; and after other Tortures, they gagg'd their Moueths with Wood, and forced their Sacrament into them: which was to those good men the greatest torment of all. They also forced the Women and Children to receive their Baptism. If a-
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ny resisted, they used Whips, Bonds, Imprisonment, and other cruelties; of which it shall suffice to relate one or two instances, leaving the Auditors to judge by them, of the inhumane actings of *Macedonius* and his Party. Such Women as would not communicate with them, they first squeezed their Breasts in a Box, and then cut them off; some with Iron, and others with Causticks of scalding Eggs. A new kind of torment, never used by the *Heathen* against us *Christians*, was invented by these who professed Christianity. These things I am informed of, saith *Socrates*, by *Auxanontes* a very old man, a Presbyter of the *Novatian* Church; who before he was made Presbyter, endured many indignities, being cast into Prison with one *Alexander* a *Paphlagonian*, and beaten with many stripes, whereof this *Alexander* died in prison, but *Auxanontes* lived to endure more torments.

I have not time to translate the entire History, which may be read in that Chapter; I shall therefore come to that part of it related to by Mr. *Hunt*: which is thus:

Macedonius, hearing that in the Province of *Paphlagonia*, especially at *Mantinium*, there were such a multitude of *Novatians* as could not be expelled by the *Arian Ecclesiasticks*, procures four Companies of Souldiers to force them to turn *Arians*. They, in defence of their Sect.
armed

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armed themselves with despair, as with Weapons; and gathering together in a Body, with Hooks, and Hatchets, and what Weapons were at hand, met the Souldiers; in which scuffle many of the Paphlagonians, and neer all the Souldiers, were slain. This I heard (saith Socrates) from a Paphlagonian that was in the Fight: And he adds, that the Emperour himself was offended with Macedonius for this action.

I should indeed have wondered at the confidence of Mr. *Hunt* in accusing from this story the *Orthodox* for arming themselves in defence of their *Profession*, when it was onely a rout of *Novatians* that were by the *Arian* cruelty driven to despair, that defended themselves against them. But I am so transported at another saying of his, that I have no admiration of any thing else, how false or pernicious soever: You shall find it, p. 192. of his Treatise concerning the *Succession*, where having suggested, that if the D. be not excluded, he doth certainly *make us miserable*; and mincing the matter a little, saying, *We exclude onely his Person, not his Posteritie*: he is not afraid to add--- *And we will not entail a War upon the Nation, though for the Sake and Interest of the glorious Familie of the STUARTS.* The speech is so heinous, that it cannot admit any aggravation. Well may such
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such men as *he* and his *Plagiary* seek to justify *resistance* of *lawful Powers*, having in effect not onely *drawn the Sword*, but *cast away the Scabbard*. We are told of one that was ready to *kick an Emperour*, and of others that *play'd with his Beard*; but this is little less than *kicking at the Crown*, and *striking a blow at the root*, to render the *whole Family* as glorious as they *made the Father of it*: Unless he can give some *other sence* of it than this: *Rather than not exclude the D. we will exclude the glorious Family of the Stuarts*. And in what sence he calls it a *glorious Family*, needs his *explication*.

But will the *Exclusion* of the *D.* as certainly prevent our *misery*, as his *Succession* effect it? Did you never read how zealous some *Priests* and *Pharisees* were for a *Bill of Exclusion* against a far better person? *John 11.47,48. What do we? for this man doth many Miracles: if we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him, & the Romans will come, & take away both our place & nation*. And did not the *passing* that *Bill*, make way for the *Romans* to bring all their *fears* on their own heads? And was not our late *dear King* excluded from *Crown, Kingdom, and life*, upon such *fears*; and was that a means of our *Peace* and *Happiness*? I wish I could say our *fears now*, are as false as they were *then*. We have his *R. H. Declaration* for our *Security*,

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viz. That the Members of the Church of England are the best supporters of the Crown. Insomuch that if it fall to him to be concerned, he will ever countenance and preserve them and it. And p. 225. Why may we not suppose that a Popish Successor will defend his *Regalia* against the Pope? Our Ancient Kings did so in the Reign of *Rich. 2. 16. c. 5.* In a Statute of *Præmunire* the Parliament declares, **That the Crown of England,** (against the Encroachments of the Pope,) hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but immediately subject to God in all things touching the Regalty of the same Crown, and to none other. And God defend (say they) that it should be submitted to the Pope, and the Laws and Statutes of the Realm be by him defeated and avoided at his will, in perpetual destruction of the Sovereignty of the King our Lord, his Crown, Regalty and of all his Realm. And I hope his Royal Highness will say as they did, *God defend.* Moreover, the Commons say, That the things so attempted (*viz. purchasing Bulls from Rome, executing Judgments given in the Court of Rome, translating of Prelates out of the Realm, or from one Preferment to another*) be clearly against the Kings Crown and Regalty used and approved of the time of all his Progenitors: **Wherefore they and all the liege Commons of the same Realm will stand with**
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our said Lord the King, and his Crown and Regalty in the Cases aforesaid, and in all other cases attempted against him and his Crown and Regalty in all points, to live and to dye. And moreoder they pray the King, and him require by way of Justice, that he would examine all the Lords in the Parliament, as well Spiritual as Temporal, severally, and all the Estates of the Parliament, how they think of the Cases aforesaid, which be so openly against the Kings Crown, and in derogation of his Regalty, how they will stand in the same cases with our Lord the King in upholding the rights of the said Crown and Regalty.

The like promises were made by the *Lords Temporal and Spiritual*, and the default was to be punished by a *Præmunire*, which is, To be put out of the King protection, and their Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels forfeited to the King; and that they be attached by their bodie, if they may be found, and brought before the King and his Council, there to answer to the Cases aforesaid, &c.

Now if these *professed Papists* did so resolutely and unanimously contest the *Regalia* against the *Pope*, what greater zeal and resolution may we justly expect from a *Protestant Parliament* (for such we may have, if it be not our own fault) if the *Pope* or any *Agents* of

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his should attempt to destroy the foundations of our *established Religion and Laws* !

Moreover, in the days of *Queen Mary*, we read how much *time*, and what *contrivances* and *largesses* it cost *that Queen* to form a Parliament to her *liking*, though then the Nation were *mostly Papists*; and how much they contended still for the *Regalia* against the *Pope*, and reserving of *Abby-lands*, &c. to the Purchasers: nor, when all was done, did any man suffer without *publick process* in form of *Law*: there were no *throats cut*, nor bloudshed by *private Messengers* or *Assassinates*, as we are taught to expect from *every Justice of Peace and Tything man*, p. 85. and by I know not what *Janizaries*; and that we shall be slain to see what *Grimaces* we make, p. 89. Besides, the number that suffered in her *five years*, were not comparable to the number that have been slain in *one hours fight* during the *Rebellion*; nor indeed to those that were *Martyred* for their *Religion and Loyalty* by *illegal proceedings* in the *Mock-Courts of Justice*, during that *Ujurpation*: the number of the *Marian Martyrs* being, not above three or four hundred (though they were too many.)

Now a *Wise man* should look *back* upon the mischiefs that *have* befallen the Nation by *resisting* the *lawful Prince*, and the endeavours to
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alter the *Succession* from the *right Heir*; as well as *forward* upon the mischiefs that *may never be*, and which upon a supposition of a *Popish Successour* are aggravated almost beyond a possibilitie of being effected. Remember what it cost the Nation when the *Succession to the Crown* was *disputed* between the Houses of *Tork* and *Lancaster*: There perished in that War, as Historians do account, two Kings, one Prince, ten Dukes, two Marquesses, twentie one Earls, twentie seven Lords, two Viscounts, one Lord Prior, one Judge, one hundred thirtie nine Knights, four hundred twentie one Esquires; and of the Gentry and Commons an incredible number. So that in such cases, the *Remedie* is generally worse than the *Disease*.

I have not said this* (God is my witness) to abate the *just* and *honest* care of the Nation to keep out Poperie, by such timely provision as his *Majestie* and his *great Council* shall see most probable; but to allay the *inordinate Heats* which may set the whole Kingdom in a *sudden flame*, onely to prevent the *fear* of the suffering a *Trial of our Faith*, if God should call us to it. And I cannot consider, without some horror, what fore and long *Wars* and *Devastations* may follow upon a *Bill of Exclusion*, as well as on a *Popish Successor*. And if of *two evils* the *least* is to be

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chosen, I should rather (if the Will of God so be) submit to my lot, how hard soever, under such a One, than that the *whole Nation* should be *rent in pieces* again, either by a *Rebellion* at home, or *Invasions* from abroad; which may happen upon such an *Exclusion*: for, *Regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum Opem alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut Reges sunt, aut vivunt in Regno quod Regale iis nomen magnum & sanctum esse videatur*: The oppressed estate of Kings easily moves many to pitie, especially them who are either Kings themselves, or do live in a Kingdom to whom the name of a *King* is *August* and *Sacred*; Saith the great Orator, *Pro lege Manil.*

Let us therefore leave the *King* and his *Great Council* to their *free Determinations*, and acquiesce in the sage advice of *Gamaliel*, *St. Paul's Master*, *Acts 5. 39.* *Let us refrain from these things: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.* And I shall conclude the business of *Exclusion* with the Determination of *Bishop Sanderson*, whose *single Judgment* will outweigh in an equal balance *all the Opinions* of the *Opposers*: You have it, *p. 350.* of his book *de Obligatione Conscientiæ.* *I think (saith he) that an Heredita-*

reditarie Kingdom may not lawfully be changed for an Elective (as in and by the Exclusion it is like to be), nor for any other form of Government, either by the People alone, nor by the People and Nobles joyntly, nor by the whole bodie of the People in their greatest latitude, that is, the People, Nobles, and the King, consenting together : unless perhaps the Royal Progenie should so totally fail, that there is not one surviving, who may claim it as his due by Right of Inheritance. And let it be considered, that he wrote this before the Bill of Exclusion was ever dreamt of.

And now I cannot but reflect upon the *Prognosticators* and *Wizards* of our Time, that amule the people with the *fancies* and *fears* which their *own guilt* hath created, as if we should be all swallowed up in a moment, and there were a *fatal necessitie* of *endless miseries* attending us : such as *Mr. Baxter* in his *Prognostication*, and *our Author*, who, *p. 89.* tells us of *such a dismal prospect as makes every honest mans heart to shake.* I remember, some years since, upon the *great Eclipse* of the *Sun*, *Lilly* and some others made such a dismal representation of it, as struck a *terror* into a great part of the *Countrie*, and made them take home their *Cattel* to their houses, and seek *Sanctuary* themselves in the *Churches*, as if *Dooms-day* were come ; when the cause was *natural*,

and nothing fell out but according to *that* course which God had appointed for the Motion of the Heavenly bodies. Though wise men are not moved at such *bugbears*, yet they have an ill Aspect on the *people*, to dispose them for such *Commotions* as may promote the interest of *discontented* and *designing* men.

For my part, I shall *continue* to pray for his Royal Highness, as our Liturgy directs; and if it be the will of God to send us a *Popish* Successor to punish us for our *resistance* of a *Protestant King*, whose blood still cries for Vengeance; I had rather die for not resisting him, than to be as *instrumental* in procuring a *Bill of Exclusion*, as *this man* would be, and as *successful* as he can hope to be, & at my death to have it written on my Tomb, *Here lieth the first Author of this Sentence: RATHER THAN THE DUKE OF Y. SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED, WE WILL EXCLUDE THE GLORIOUS FAMILY OF THE STUARTS.* And I will yet pray against the wickedness of *these men*: Lord cloath all such his enemies with shame; but upon his head, and the heads of his seed, let the Crown flourish,

I perceive Mr. Hunt to be a great *devoto* to some kind of *Parliaments*; and that which was convened in the first of King James, was
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one that consisted of Wise, Loyal, and Pious persons; I intreat him therefore to consider what was *Enacted* by them in their *Recognition*, 1^o. *Jacobi*; where after the *Preamble* it is thus declared: We therefore your most humble and Loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do from the bottom of our hearts yield to the Divine Majesty all humble thanks and praises, not onely for the said unspeakable and inestimable benefits and blessings above-mentioned, but also that he hath further enriched your Highness with a most Royal Progeny of most rare and excellent gifts and forwardness, and in his goodness is like to encrease the happy number of them. And in most humble and lowly manner do beseech your most Excellent Majesty, that (as a memorial to all Posterities amongst the records of your High Court of Parliament for ever to endure, of our Loyalty, Obedience and hearty and humble Affection) it may be published and declared in this High Court of Parliament, and enacted by the authority of the same, That we being bounden thereunto (N.B.) by the Laws of God and man, do recognize and acknowledge, and thereby express our unspeakable Joyes, that immediately upon the dissolution and decease of Elizabeth late Queen of England, the Imperial Crown of the Realm of England, and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions

ons, and Rights belonging to the same, and by inherent Birth-right (N. 8.) and lawful and undoubted Succession, descend and come to your most Excellent Majesty, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully next and sole Heir of the Blood-Royal of this Realm, as is aforesaid. And that by the goodness of God Almighty, and lawful right of Descent under one Imperial Crown, your Majesty is of the Realms and Kingdoms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the most potent and mighty King, and by Gods goodness more able to protect and govern us your loving Subjects in all peace and plenty, than any of your noble Progenitors: and thereunto we most humbly and faithfully submit and oblige our selves, our heirs and posterities for ever, until the last drop of our bloods be spent. And we beseech your Majesty to accept the same as the first-fruits in this High Court of Parliament of our Loyalty and faith to your Majesty and your Royal Progeny and Posterity for ever.

Now, as Grotius says, a People may be presumed to be the same that they formerly were, till some publick act shew that their judgments are altered. How dares Mr. Hunt then to say, p. 47. If any man is so vain as to say that an unalterable course of Succession is established among us by Divine Right; I say he is a man fitted to believe Transubstantiation, and the Infallibility of the Pope: &c. And if any man shall
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add, that this is the Doctrine of the Reformation, and adventure to tell the people so; they are the most impudent falsaries that ever any Age produced: when there is scarce a Child but hath heard what was done and maintained by the Clergy in the Case of Mary Queen of Scots.

How can this man, (who doubtless is an Ignoramus if he never knew this Recognition) declare so often as he doth, particularly in p. 198. that the Succession of the Crown is the right of the whole Community, their appointment, their constitution, and creature in Parliament? Did he never read what is said by Grotius de Jure belli? He says, *If a Kingdom descend by Succession, an Act of Alienation is in itself null*, l. 1. c. 4. s. 9. Which agrees with what Bishop Sanderfon delivered before. And Mr. Hunt himself says, *Grotius is more than ten witnesses*: and if you add the Bishops, I think them of more value than a hundred.

In quâ tandem Civitate Catilina arbitraris te vivere, saith Cicero: you that make Hue and cry after such as write for Religion and Loyalty, as if they were ready to banish themselves, or prove *felo's de se*; consider, I pray, under what Government you are: and though you may escape the Magistrates wrath, yet you ought to be solicitous how you may escape the wrath of God, to which you have made your self obnoxious.

I have but one Remark more on Mr. *Hunt*, which is, that he hath consulted another famous Author, one Mr. *Thomas White*, who, being a *Romish Emissary*, made it his business to continue our distractions. This man wrote a Book entituled, *The Grounds of Obedience and Government*: And his Motto is, *Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto*; whereof I have given you the genuine sense already.

Now among many other Notes transcribed by Mr. *Hunt* from this Jesuitical Writer, p. 158. he comes to answer the Objections of Divines concerning the *Authoritie of Princes*, and *non-resistance*. Up steps the Divine (saith he) to preach us out of Scripture the Dutie we owe to Kings, no less than Death and Damnation being the guerdons of Disobedience and Rebellion. And p. 154. They will speak Reason too, telling us, that God by nature is high Lord and Master of all: That whoever is in power receiveth his right from him: That Obedience consists in doing the Will of him that commandeth; and conclude, that his Will ought to be obeyed till God taketh away the Obligation, (i. e.) till he who is to be obeyed himself releaseth the Right. Besides, p. 160 They alledge that God by his special command transferred the Kingdom from Saul to David, from Rehoboam to Jeroboam. So that in fine, all that is brought out of Scripture falleth short of proving

ving that no time can make void the right of a King once given him by the hand of God. Now mark what Mr. White says to overthrow the sense of these Scriptures. *The reason* (says he) of *THIS WEAK WAY OF A-LEADING SCRIPTURE* is, that when they read that God commandeth or doth this, they look not into Nature to know what this Commanding or Doing is, but presently imagine God commands it by express and direct words, and doth it by an immediate position of the things said to be done; whereas in Nature the Commands are nothing but the natural Light God hath bestowed on Mankind, and which is therefore frequently called the Law of Nature. Likewise Gods doing a thing is many times onely the course of natural second Causes; to which because God gives the Direction and Motion, he both doth, and is said to do all that is done by them.

Now to the same end (viz. to prove that Kingly Government is not from God but the People, and therefore may be altered and resisted) and in the same words for the most part, doth Mr. Hunt deliver this black invention of Mr. White, p. 144. *The nature of Government and its Original hath been prejudiced---by men that understand nothing but words: and Grammar-divines, that without contemplating Gods Attributes, or the Nature of man, or the*
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reasonableness of moral Precepts, have undertaken to declare the sense of Scripture; and infer, that Sovereign Power is not of Humane Institution, but of Divine Appointment, because they find it there written, That by him Kings reign: Imagining, that when the Scripture saith God commands or doth this, that God commanded it by express words, or doth it by an immediate position of the thing done; whereas in nature his Commands are nothing but the natural Light God hath bestowed on Mankind: Likewise Gods doing a thing is onely the course of natural and second Causes, to which because God gives Direction and Motion, he doth both, and is said to do all that is done.

Likewise Gods doing a thing, is onely the course of natural and second Causes, to which; because God gives the Direction or Motion, he doth both, and is said to do all that is done. All this is verbatim Mr. White: So is his Railerie in the same Phrase, to bring an Odium on Divines that would prove Government out of the Scripture: White calls them Grammar-Divines, Verbal and wind-blown Divines, p. 162. And Mr. Hunt calls them Men that understand nothing but Words, and Grammar-divines. Who (saith Mr. White) without Logick, Philosophie, or Morality, undertake to be Interpreters of the Sacred Bible: Who (saith Mr. Hunt) without contemplating Gods Attributes,

butes, or the Nature of man, or the Reasonableness of Moral Precepts, have undertaken to declare the sense of the Scripture.

It is not strange to me, having read a *Deffiance* to the *Royal Family*, to read the like against the *Clergie*. But that the *Scripture* also should suffer, and the *uncertain and mutable Traditions* and *Effects* of *natural Causes* be made equivalent with the immediate *Commands* of *God* in the *Scripture*, though it be no new thing among *Jesuits*, yet a *true Protestant* should abhor it. The man is so angry that he hath done the *ungrateful Bishops* any *right*, that he will have satisfaction *right or wrong* from the rest of the *Clergie*: And though he call the *younger sort* onely *Coxcombs*, yet his design is to bring the *whole Clergy* into *contempt*. But any young *Divine* may draw such *Conclusions* out of the *Premises*, as might exclude him out of the *Society* of all *good and learned men*.

1. *That to conclude from the sense of Scripture, is a weak way of Arguing.* In this *Mr. White* and *Mr. Hunt* consent.

2. *That non obstante what the Scripture says of Divine Right of Sovereign Power, it is not of Divine, but Humane Institution.*

3. *That Providence, and the Effects of second Causes, being influenced by God, are of equal*
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Authority with the Precepts enjoyed by the Word of God.

4. *That the Sovereign Power being but of Humane Institution, may be resisted, and is alterable.*

5. *That they who mock the Messengers of God, do go on to despise the Word of God, and abuse his Prophets; a sin which often stirs up the Wrath of God so as there is NO REMEDY. And thus I observe in the behalf of the abused Clergie.*

6. *That having cast off our Loyaltie to our Governours and their Laws, puts us in a fair way to cast off the Sovereignty of God and his Laws.*

7. *That the worst of Papists, and their most Atheistical Arguments, are made use of by some that call themselves true Protestants, against the expresse Commands of God for obedience to the Higher Powers.*

From all which Premises I shall onely conclude as to my self, That it is much more desirable to *perish* by the hands of a *known Enemy* to God and the *true Religion*, than to outlive that Religion, and by a *successful resistance* against the *Ordinance of God*, to live in the enjoyment of *Temporal wealth and Honours*, and to deserve this Epitaph to be engraved on my Tomb.

Plorate

Plorate quotquot estis
Pacis vitæque placidæ Pertæsi :
Conservator optimi Populi, pessimus
Legum, Libertatis, Religionis Protector :
Post Oliverum Primus, nulli Secundus :
Deperditæ Reipublicæ Instaurator :
Regum timendorum tremendus Judex,
Regiæ Stirpis Extirpator Perfidus,
Juris Consultorum Doctor Ignoramus.
Qui Consentientibus dissentit ab omnibus
Orthodoxis, Antiquis & Modernis :
Qui Dissentientibus consentit omnibus
Papistis, Anabaptistis, Regicidis :
Scrutator Majestatis oppressus à Gloria,
Inglorius obiit.

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Passive Obedience.

IT is a very *hard Case*, that when the *Scripture* enjoyns such as are of the *Ministry* in this Nation to *put the people in mind to be subject to Principalities and powers*; and the *Canons* of the *Church* to which we have subscribed, oblige us *four times in the year at least*, to manifest, open, and declare, in our *Sermons* and *Lectures*, *That the Kings power within his Majesties Realms, &c. is the highest power under God, to whom all men born within the same, do by Gods Laws owe most Loyaltie and Obedience, afore and above all Powers and Potentates on Earth*; that for so doing, we should be reproached as *Time-servers*, and such as advance an *Arbitrarie power*; and that such *Doctrine* is *calculated and fitted on purpose for the use of a Popish Successour, and to make us an easier prey to the bloudie Papists*, p. 89. And all this, by those men who are *equally obliged by Oaths and Subscriptions to do the same as we*.

Of these things the Author accuseth a *learned*

ned Doctor, who had affirmed (in a Sermon I suppose, and he quotes p. 8.) *That the Gospel doth not prescribe any remedie but fight against the Persecutions of the lawful Magistrate; allowing no other means, when we cannot escape, between denying and dying for the Faith.* This is in p. 80. and p. 85. for saying, *That the Gospel by its own confession is a suffering Doctrine, and so far from being prejudicial to Cæsars authoritie, that it makes him the Minister of God, and commands all its Professors to give him and all that are in authoritie under him their dues, and rather die than resist them by force.*

Now to remove the prejudice of such as are of our Author's Judgment, I shall first propose the Judgment of Mr. Baxter, (as a preparative to the more candid entertainment of what I shall propound concerning *Passive Obedience*.) P. 24. of the 4th part of *Christian Directorie*, Direct. 31. *Resist not where you cannot obey; and let no appearance of probable good that may come to your selves or to the Church, by any unlawful means, as Treason, Sedition, or Rebellion, ever tempt you to it: for, evil must not be done, that good may come by it.*

But, Sect. 61. it is objected, *If we must let Rulers destroy us at their pleasure, the Gospel will be rooted out of the Earth: When they know we hold it unlawful to resist them, they will*

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be emboldened to destroy us, and sport themselves in our blood, as the Papists did by the poor Albigenſes. Anſw. All this were ſomething, if there were no God that can eaſilier reſtrain and deſtroy them at pleaſure, than they can injure or deſtroy you. If God be engaged to protect you, and hath told you that the hairs of your head are numbered, and more regardeth his Honour, Goſpel and Church, than you do, and accounteth his Servants as the Apple of his eye, and hath promiſed to hear them, and avenge them ſpeedily; then it is but Atheiſtical diſtruſt of God, to ſave your ſelf by ſinful means, as if God could not or would not do it. Thus he that ſaveth his life ſhall loſe it.

This Mr. Baxter ſpeaks againſt Rebellion and unlawful Arms and Acts. To this purpoſe he quotes Grotius *de Imperio*, p. 210. answering the like Objection, (viz.) *Mutato Regis Animo, Religio Mutabitur*; That if the King change his mind, the Religion will be changed alſo. Anſw. In this caſe the onely remedie is in the providence of God, who hath the hearts of all men in his hand, but eſpecially the Kings. God worketh his ends both by good and evil Kings: ſometime a calm, ſometime a ſtorm is moſt profitable to the Church. If the King be of a perverſe and corrupt Judgment, it will be worſe for him than for the Church. But all this, you will ſay, is againſt unlawful acts and means, which

which they that have the *Laws on their side* cannot be said to use. To this Mr. Baxter answers, p. 26. *What power the Laws have, they have it by the Kings Consent and Act. And it is strange impudencie, to pretend that his own Laws are against him. If any misinterpret them, he may be confuted. I suppose Mr. Baxter means, by some other method than that of arguing, as St. Augustine advised in the like case.*

The Law and Ordinance of Government, and especially of *Monarchie*, is founded on the Law of God and Nature; and no *positive Laws*, or *condescensions of Governours*, can make void the Law of God. For though a *righteous Prince* will not violate those Laws which he hath consented to, yet if he should, it will not justify those *Subjects* that shall violate the Law of God and Nature, in *resisting* and *rising up* against him in *Rebellion*; which would as it were argue *great ingratitude* to them who by *Acts of Grace* have obliged themselves: (for, as St. Augustine observes, our *Prince*, like *God himself*, becomes a *Debtor* to man, *Non aliquid à nobis accipiendo, sed omnia nobis largiendo*; Not by receiving any thing from us, but by promising all good things to us.) So it is a certain way to bring us all to *Confusion*, if the *King* should be judged as a *Criminal* upon every *transgression* of the Law.

And I would ask those who would *bind their Kings in such Fetters*, By what *authoritie* they would proceed against him and judge him: would they erect another *High Court of Justice*, or bring him from his *Throne to the Block*? Would they arm the people again, on pretence of fighting for their *Laws and Liberties*? The end of those things we have seen to be the *death of a most righteous Prince*, and the *general destruction of the Subjects*. Wherefore I commend to you that of your *Bracton*: *Omnem esse sub Rege, & ipsum sub nullo sed tantum sub Deo*. And if he *contradict himself in this*, the *suffrage of Nature*, and the *Laws of all well-governed Nations*, will condemn him; which agree in this, That *Principi non est Lex posita*, there is *no Law above the Prince that makes the Law*, and by whose *Authoritie* alone the *Laws* are executed: for it is he that *beareth the Sword*. And *Plutarch* says of him, that he doth *not onely govern according to the Laws, but hath a power above them*. He hath so indeed for the good of his *Subjects*, to whom the *rigorous* execution of the *Laws*, in many cases, would be an insupportable *burden*, if by the *Kings Authoritie* they might not be *moderated* and interpreted by *Rules of Equity*: against which our *Dissenters* have the least reason of any men alive to object. And if we
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Of Passive Obedience.

grant him *this power for our good*, how can we deny it to him for his own?

That *Learned Casuist*, Bishop *Sanderfon*, whose *modesty* in other *Resolutions* is eminent, in resolving this *Question*, *Whether it be lawful for the Prince in cases extraordinary to do any thing besides or against Law*, undertakes to prove the *Affirmative*, with an *extraordinary confidence*; and, which is more, to prove it by that *abused Maxime* which some would invert against the *King*, *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*, *That the Peoples Safetie is the highest Law*. And if I prove not this, as your selves shall confesse, from that very *Maxime* (saith he) then say, that I cannot see at noon day; and censure me to have been not a *Defender of this good Cause*, but a *Betrayer and Prævaricator*. Which thus he doth: First, he tells us the *Original* of that *Sentence*, viz. from *Cicero de Legibus*, in these words, l. 3. *Regio Imperio duo sunt, iique præeundo, judicando, consulendo, Prætores, Judices, Consules appellantur: Militiæ Summum Jus habento nemini parento, Ollis Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto*. Now to whom doth this power belong? to them (says the very *Letter of those Laws*) to whom the *Imperial power* was committed, that is, to the two *Consuls* for the time being. Come now, (says the *Bishop*) all you that are the *Patrons of Popular confidence*, read, weigh, and examine

mine every Word, Syllable, and Comma, and shew where you can find the least hint of any power granted to Subjects against their Princes will, either to judge concerning the safety of the people, or to determine and do any thing against the Laws. Doth not the whole series both of Things and Words loudly proclaim, that the Supream Authoritie which is above all Law, and that the care of the Publick safetie properly belongs to him alone to whom the Imperial power, the right of the Militia, and that Supream Authoritie which is subject to none, is granted?

When the Law commands one thing, (says *Aeneas Sylvius*, de Ortu Imperii, c. 20.) and Equity another, it is fit the Emperour should temper the rigour of the Law with the bridle of Equity. Seeing no Decree of the Law, though made by never so deliberate advice, can sufficiently answer the various and unthought-of plottings of mans nature— and it is manifest that the Laws which aforetime were just, in after-times may prove unjust, harsh, and unprofitable; to moderate which, it is needful that the Prince, who is Lord of the Laws, interpose his Authority. And where it is said, that a Law, though it be severe, should be observed; this respects inferiour Magistrates, not the Emperour, to whom the power of moderating the Laws is so connexed, that by no decrees of man it can be pull'd from him.

Bishop *Sanderſon* gives a pertinent instance

to this purpose, in his Book *de Oblig. Consc.* p. 384. That when upon discovery of the Gunpowder-plot the Traitors fled, some of them were pursued by the High Sheriff of Worcester-shire, who having hunted them from place to place came to the Confines of his Countie, beyond which he was not to pass with his Souldiers by the Law: yet fearing that they might otherwise escape, he pursues them into another Countie, takes them, and brings them Prisoners. Yet knowing he had transgressed the Law, and lest others in matters of less moment should be encouraged to do the like, or himself be exposed to future trouble, he presently goes to the King and obtains his Pardon.

What excellent Chymists were they, who out of those golden Laws should draw out so many Swords and Axes against their Sovereign and Fellow-subjects, on such a vile pretence! And is not our young *Empyrick* neer of kin to them, who by his *Mountebank-Receipts* would poyson the People with a conceit that they may by the Laws arm themselves against the King, if they shall judge that he doth transgress those Laws? that then he is no longer a *Minister of God*, but of the Devil, and may be persecuted as a *Midnight-Thief*, or *Highway-Robber*, or in the words of Gregory, as a *common Cut-throat*, pag. 25. And that he is hardly to be blamed, who shews himself so courageous for

God, and for that Religion which he approves, as to assassinate his Prince.

To conclude, it is the judgement both of *Divines, Civilians, and States-men*, that there must be in *Kings and Governours* a *Supream Power* to mitigate the rigour of the *Laws*, and to suspend the execution of them; to pardon some *Delinquents*, and in case of necessity to provide for the *safety of the People*, besides, and against the *Laws*: and that to arm the *People*, and teach them on pretence of the *Law* to resist their Prince, is a pernicious Tenet, destructive to Government.

It is Criminal, (saith Mr. Hunt p. 41.) and no less dangerous to the being of any Polity, to restrain the Legislative Authority, and to entertain principles that disable it to provide remedy against the greatest mischiefs that can happen to any Community. No Government can support itself without an unlimited Power in providing for the happiness of the people. No civil Establishment but is controlable and alterable to the Publick Weal: Whatever is not of Divine Institution, ought to yield and submit to this Power and Authority. And this is all that I, or any of my Brethren that I know of, ever intended to say of the extent of the Kings Power: That such distempers as are incurable by common and prescribed Remedies, such as the Kings Evil usually is, must have extraordinary

extraordinary applications, such as the *Kings* band, and none but *his*, may successfully administer.

Nor doth any among us plead that the *King* is above the *Directive* power of the *Laws*, but onely that he is not under the *Coercive* power of them. For which cause *Antonie* would not permit that *Herod* should be called to an account of what he did as a *King*, for then he should in effect be *no King* at all: for what power can judge him who is the *Supreme* power on Earth? *The Emperour* (saith *Tertull.*) is solo Deo minor, *inferiour* to God onely, and under the power of God onely; In cujus solius potestate sunt, à quo sunt secundi, post quem primi. And *St. Ambrose* speaking of *David*, applieth it to other Kings: He was a *King*, and obnoxious to no humane *Laws*, because *Kings* are free from punishment for their offences, being secured by the power of their *Empire*. If the *People* have power to call the *King* to an account, the *Estate* is *Democratical*: if the *Peers*, it is *Aristocratical*; but if indeed it be *Monarchical*, neither, nor both, can judge their *Prince*.

In the first Homily against *Rebellion*, p. 1. our Church says, that in reading of the *Holy Scriptures* we shall find in very many places; as well of the *Old Testament* as the *New*, That *Kings* and *Princes*, as well the evil as the good, do reign by *Gods Ordinance*; and that *Subjects* are bound to obey them.

The

The *Augustan* Confession, Article 16. *Christians must necessarily obey the present Magistrates and Laws, except when they command to sin.*

French Confession, Article 11. *We ought to obey Laws and Statutes, pay Tribute, and bear other burdens of Subjection, and undergo the Toke with a good will, although the Magistrates should be Infidels; so that Gods sovereign Authoritie remains inviolate.*

The *Belgick* Confession. *All men, of what dignitie, qualitie, or state soever they be, must subject themselves unto the lawful Magistrates, pay them Imposts and Tributes, and please and obey them in all things not repugnant to the Word of God: Also pray for them, that God would be pleased to direct them in all their actions, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life under them in all pietie and honestie.*

The *Helvetick* Confession. *Let all Subjects honour and reverence the Magistrate as the Minister of God: Let them love and assist him, and pray for him as their Father; let them obey him in all his just and equitable Commands, and pay all Imposts, Tributes, and other Dues faithfully and willingly: And in case of War, let them also lay down their lives, and spill their blood for the good of the Publick, and of the Magistrate. willingly, vailiantly, and cheerfully. For he that opposeth himself to the Magistrate,*
pro-

provoketh the heavie wrath of God upon himself.

The Bohemian Confession. *Let every one yield subjection in all things not contrarie to God, to the Higher Powers and their Officers, whether good or bad.*

The Saxonick Confession. *The more a Christian is sincere in Faith, the more he ought to subject himself to the publick Laws.*

But I shall end where I began, with the Doctrine of our Martyrs and Confessors, who sealed with their blood the Truths that they published with their Pens; for whom in vain do we build and garnish Monuments of Fame to their memories, while we are Apostates from their Doctrine and Practice.

The first Reformers of our Religion, in the Institution of a Christian man, on the Fifth Commandment, say, That Subjects be bound not to withdraw their Fealtie, Truth, Love, and Obedience from their Prince **FOR ANT CAUSE WHATSOEVER IT BE**; ne for any cause may they conspire against his person, ne do any thing towards the hinderance or hurt thereof, or of his estate: And by his Commandment they are bound to obey all the Laws, Proclamations, Precepts, and Commandments made by their Princes and Governours, except they be against the Commandment of God. And likewise they be bound to obey all such as are in Authoritie under

der their Prince, as far as he will have them obeyed. They must also give unto their Prince aid, help, and assistance, whensoever he shall require the same, either for suretie, preservation, or maintenance of his Person and Estate, or of the Realm, or of the defence of any of the same against all persons. And there be many examples in Scripture of the vengeance of God that hath fallen upon R U L E R S and such as have been disobedient to their Princes. But one principal example to be noted, is of the Rebellion of Core, Dathan, and Abiram, made against their Governours Moses and Aaron: For punishment of which Rebels, God not onely caused the Earth to open, and to swallow them down, and a great number of other people with them, with their houses, and all their substance; but caused also a fire to descend from Heaven, and to burn up two hundred and fiftie Captains which conspired with them in the Rebellion.

And again, on the Sixth Commandment; No Subjects may draw their Sword against their Prince, for what cause soever it be, nor against any others (saving for lawful defence) without their Princes license. And it is their dutie to draw their Swords for the defence of their Prince and Realm, whensoever the Prince shall command. And although Princes which be the chief and supreme Heads of Realms, do otherwise than they ought, yet God hath assigned no Judges

Judges over them in this world, but will have the judgment of them reserved to himself.

Sir John Cheek, who was Tutor to King Edward the Sixth, and a person of great Learning and Integrity, in his Book called, *The true Subject to the Rebel*, speaks to this purpose: *If you were offered persecution for Religion, you ought to fly for it; and yet you intend to fight. If you would stand in the truth, you ought to suffer like Martyrs; and you would slay like Tyrants. Thus for Religion you keep no Religion, and neither will follow the Council of Christ, nor the Constancy of Martyrs. And then asking the people why they should not like that Religion which Gods word established, the Primitive Church authorized, and the whole consent of the Parliament confirmed, and his Majesty had set forth; he says, Dare you Commons take upon you more Learning than the Chosen Bishops and Clerks of this Realm have?*

I suppose that the Author of *Julians Life* might transcribe that Act of Queen Mary above-mentioned, out of Mr. Prynnes second part of *the Loyalty of pious Christians*, &c. where we have it printed at large, p. 65. from whence he might very honestly have told us Mr. Prynnes Judgment of such Prayers as were made against the Queen; who, (p. 64.) says, *That Queen Maries zealous Protestant Bishops, Ministers, and Subjects likewise, made constant*
prayers

prayers for her: But some over-zealous Anabaptistical Fanaticks using some unchristian expressions in their prayers against her, That God would cut her off, and shorten her daies, occasioned this special Act against such prayers. And having repeated the Act, he adds, p. 66. These prayers were much against, and directly contrary to the Judgment of Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Farrer, Bishop Hooper, Rowland Taylor, John Philpot, John Bradford, Edward Crome, John Rogers, Laurence Sanders, Edward Laurence, Miles Coverdale Bishop of Exon, and others of our Godly Protestant Bishops and Ministers, who soon after suffered as Martyrs. They in their Letter (May 8. 1554.) professing, that as Obedient Subjects we shall behave our selves towards Queen Mary, and all that be in authority, and not cease to pray to God for them, that he would govern them all generally and particularly with the Spirit of Wisdom and Grace: and so we heartily desire and humbly pray all men to do, in no point consenting to any kind of Rebellion or Sedition against our Sovereign Lady the Queens Highness; but where they cannot obey, but they must disobey God, there to submit themselves with all patience and humility, to suffer as well what the will and pleasure of the higher Powers shall adjudge, as we are ready through the goodness of the Lord to suffer whatsoever they shall judge us
unto

unto. And Bishop Hooper wrote an Apologie against the Slanderous report made of him, that he should encourage and maintain such as cursed Queen Mary: printed 1552. wherein his Innocence and Loyalty to the Queen, in praying for her, are vindicated at large, So far Mr. Prynn.

Take the sence of one Marian Martyr more, Mr. William Tindal, in a Book *de Christiani hominis Obedientia*, saying, In every Kingdom, the King, which hath no Superiour, iudgeth of all things; and therefore he that endeavoureth or intendeth any mischief or calamity against the Prince that is a Tyrant, or a Persecutor, or who-soever with a forward hand doth touch the Lords Anointed, he is a Rebel against God, and resisteth the Ordinance of God. And as it is not lawful upon any pretence to resist the King, so it is not lawful to rise up against the Kings Officer or Magistrate that is sent by the King for the execution of those things that are commanded by the King.

And Mr. Barnes in Tract. *de Humanis Constitut.* saith, That the Servants of Christ rather than commit any evil, or resist any Magistrate, ought patiently to suffer the loss of their goods, and the tearing of their members: Nay, the Christian, after the example of Christ his Master, ought to suffer the bitterest death for Truth and Righteousness sake: and therefore

who

who ever shall rebel under pretence of Religion,
æternæ damnationis erit reus.

Now *these men* gave their Opinions for *Passive Obedience*, even before *Queen Mary* had altered the *Laws*, (i.e.) their Religion was by the *established Laws of the Land*, the *onely allowed Religion*; yet they were far from defending it by *resistance* and *Rebellion*.

It is a difficult matter to perswade them to *suffer*, that never knew what it was to *obey*: such as were educated in a time of *Rebellion*, and instead of being catechized in the Principles of the *Gospel*, were from their childhood taught how to *stand on their guard*, and *defe* their Governours; and being become *wealthie* by the *Spoils* wrested by themselves or their Ancestors from the *King*, the *Church*, or their more *Religious* and *Loyal Brethren*, think that *Providence* will justify them in all their *Seditious attempts*, and that the *Millennium* of *Christs reign upon Earth* is begun; and that *all Laws* now must be subservient to the support of *that Perswasion* of theirs; and that *their Religion* hath been in full and quiet possession ever since 42 at least; and therefore to teach men now, that they ought to *suffer* rather than *resist* their lawful Princes, is the *Mahometan Doctrine* of the *Bow-string*; which is indeed the whole *Oeconomie* of the *Gospel*, as will appear by what followeth.

If

If we compare *Deut.* 28. with *Matth.* 15. it will appear, that as *Prosperitie* was the Blessing of the *Old Testament*, so *Persecution* is of the *New*. And there is no *Robberie* in the *Exchange*: for though we are called to forsake house, friends, and lands for *Christs* sake, we shall receive in this time a hundred fold, though with persecution, *Mark.* 10. 40. besides the *Aureola*, or double Crown, in the life to come. How comes it then to pass, that the Doctrine of the *Cross* is become Foolishness, and a Stumbling-block to us *Christians*, as it was to the *Jews* and *Greeks*? That which was the *Glorie* of the *Apostles*, and esteemed above earthly Kingdoms by the *Primitive Christians*, even the *Crown of Martyrdom*, is now trampled on, despised, and discredited, as the reward of Fools, and men wearie of their lives.

The *Gnosticks* drew tears from the *Apostles* eyes, when he considered how they both taught and practised the lawfulness of denying *Christ* in times of persecution: (*Phil.* 3. 18.) Many walk of whom I have told you often, and now tell you with weeping, that they are enemies to the *Cross of Christ*. Such were crept in among the *Galatians*, who by all art and industrie increased their numbers, that they might not suffer persecution for the *Cross of Christ*, *Gal.* 6. 12. But God forbid (saith the *Apostle*) that I should rejoyce save in the *Cross of*

our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified to me, and I unto the world.

The Scars that Souldiers receive in the service of their Prince, are esteemed Marks of Honour: and every pettie Prince can lead forth Legions to look Death in the face at his command: Every new Sect can boast of their Dipticks and Martyrologies; and there is scarce a good man in the world, but some or other would even dare to die for him: And what difficulties do affright men of resolution, when they contend but for a Garland of Flowers or Laurel, fading and unsatisfactorie rewards! And hath our blessed Redeemer onely so ill deserved of us for all the great things that he hath done both for our Souls and Bodies? or is he only so unable to requite our service and labour of love, that we should forsake him, when a small Storm threatneth us, or falls upon our heads? When Henry the Fourth of France was engaged in fight against his Enemies, and his Friends began to give ground: he minds them what a Reproach it would be to the Nobilitie and Gentry of France, that of all their numbers, there were not fiftie that stood by him in the Camp, that had thousands waiting on him in his Court. *Pudet hec opprobria, &c.*

It is no rash, fruitless, or desperate designe that our Saviour calls us to; He forewarned

us at our first entrance to our Holy Profession, that we *could not be his Disciples except we deny our selves, and take up the Cross and follow him: and he that doth not so, saith our Saviour, is not worthy of me,* Matth. 10. 38. Matth. 16. 24. Luke 14. 27. Nor is it fruitless: he hath wise and great ends, not onely for the glorie of his *Father*, but the good of his *Church*, in every affliction: that *Vine*, as well as the common ones, spreads and prospers the more, when it is at the wisdom of the Vine-dresser watered with *blood*. As in lesser afflictions *God chastiseth us for our good, that we may be partakers of his Holiness*; so doth he with greater, that he may *bring us to glory*.

Many a man might have perished eternally, if they had not perished temporally; God by his Righteous judgments calling *their sins to remembrance*, and working in them *repentance unto life*. Behold, saith St James, we count them happy that endure. *You have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord; that the Lord is very pittiful, and of tender mercy.* Jobs Graces had not given so great a light and ground of *Consolation* to the world, if they had not been tryed in the fire of affliction; which is so needful for the *purging out our Corruption*, that we are told, *All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution; and that we must through Many tribulations*

enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

The *Afflictions* which God sends do often bear an *Inscription* of those *sins* that procured them: as when *Josephs* brethren were under apprehension of great fear, they said one to another, *We are verily guilty concerning our Brother, in that we saw him in the anguish of his Soul, when he besought us, and we would not bear him.* If we are oppressed and persecuted by our own *Country-men* and false brethren, let us consider whether we have not been such, and dealt so with our Brethren. If God permit us to be persecuted by a *Christian Prince*, consider what guilt yet lieth on the Nation for the *Persecution* and *Murder* of a *most Christian King*; and learn to improve the Judgment into a Mercy, by *repentance* and *patience* under Gods afflicting hand. If no such guilt lies upon us, then think that God calls us forth as *Combatants*, to shew examples of *Christian Faith, Love, and Resolution*, in an Age that is corrupted by long prosperity, and become effeminate and delicate, through plenty and luxury: and a *Plethory* is to be cured by *Plebotomy*.

How the Church thrived under *Persecution*, we have many instances. The first *Persecution* scattering the *Disciples*, caused the Gospel to be planted *through the world*; and being planted, the blood of those that dyed made it
so

so fruitful, that the President of *Palestine* wrote to *Tiberius*, that they were weary of slaying them; who never so much as fled or hid themselves, and yet multiplied the more for being put to death. *Pliny* also writing to *Trajan*, complains, *prope jam desolata templa, & sacra Solennia diu intermissa*. It was otherwise when the Church flourished outwardly in the days of *Constantius*: the Christians drove one another from the Altars, and by their ambitious and popular Contests, made the Sacrifices of God to be abominated by the heathen.

Whatever the punishment be, we must accept it as the demerit of our Sins, and as inflicted by a most righteous and glorious God. And if because, as in the days of *Constantius*, we denie the power of godliness, and exercise of Charity to one another, it is just with God to deprive us of the very form of it, and commit us to be Chastised by a common Enemy, as they were by *Julian*; We must bear the Indignation of the Lord, because we have sinned against him.

Consider what Christ suffered for us; he endured the Cross, despising the shame; and being now at the right hand of God, calls on us to follow his Example, promising, that if we suffer, we shall also reign with him. And shall our Saviour be forsaken as soon as he is apprehended, and be again called on to come down

from the Cross, that we may believe in him? shall we draw back, as the beasts were wont, from that Altar which our Saviour hath sanctified and made our surest Sanctuary against Evils? *Think it not strange*, saith St. Peter, 1. 4. 12.) concerning the fiery trial which is to try you. as if some strange thing had hapned to you; but rejoyce, in as much as you are made partakers of Christs sufferings; that when his Glory shall appear, ye may be glad with exceeding joy. Would our Saviour have bid us to rejoyce and be exceeding glad when we suffer persecution for his sake, if it were a thing impossible, that as Afflictions do abound, so our Consolations shall also?

With what an *Emphasis* doth the Spirit of God describe the blessedness of them that suffer or die for the sake of Christ! 1 Pet. 4. 14. *the Spirit of God and of Glory* (i. e. the glorious Spirit of God) *resteth on you*; and ver. 15. *If any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorifie God on this behalf.* And so St. John, *Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord. for they rest from their labours, and their works follow them*, Revel. 14. 13. *Be thou faithful unto death* (to the suffering of death) *and I will give thee a Crown of life*, Revel. 2. 10.

If we did indeed believe all that to be true which our Saviour hath told us, we would not
be

be offended at the Cross. The growth of our fears, is from the decay of our Faith: *Why are ye fearful, O ye of little Faith!* Abraham, who was strong in Faith, was also perswaded that what God had promised, he was able to perform, and therefore offered up his onely Son, who was dearer than his own life; and left his Country and Kindred at the Command of God. This was the Victory whereby the ancient Worthies overcame a world of Persecutors, even their Faith, that Faith that gave a substance to things to come, and apprehended them as present: that Faith that made them look through things Temporal to things Eternal. They could, as the Proto-martyr St. Stephen, see the heavens opened, and Christ standing at the right hand of God; *Et quid pulchrius Deo spectaculum, quam Christianus cum dolore congressus, quum adversum minas, supplicia, & tormenta, componitur!* No spectacle is more pleasing to God, than a well-composed Christian conslieting with punishments and torments.

Christ as it were leaves his seat, and stands up, not onely to behold, but to encourage and assist such Combatants. *Non enim nos spectat tantum, sed in nobis ipse luctatur.* And when Christ takes all that is done to his Members as done to himself; when in all their afflictions he is afflicted; when he assures us as by his Word

and Oath, that he will *never leave us nor forsake us*; And that *all things shall co-operate to our good*: If the love of Christ were indeed *shed abroad in our hearts*, it would *constrain us* to do and suffer any thing that he shall call or command us to do or iuffer. For *there is no fear in love: perfect love will cast out all base fears*. Love would so unite us to him whom we love, that as *nothing* could on Christs part *separate us from his love*; so neither would any thing on our part work a *separation*, Rom. 8. 38.

And what is there in the world, or in our selves, of such weight, as the full enjoyment of our Saviour may not outweigh! here is nothing but *sin and misery, infirmities and temptations* daily assaulting us, and leading us *Captives*. The very *Heathen*, that had no hopes of a *better life*, saw cause to be weary of *this*, and esteemed it *the greatest blessing, not to be born; but the next to it, to die speedily*. But to us *Christians*, to whom *Cita mors est victoria læta*, death should be esteemed a gain; it is a passage from a *vale of tears*, to a *Crown and Kingdom*, where we shall be ever with the Lord. Wherefore lift up the hands that hang down, and the feeble knees, and make your selves ready for your *last journey* to your *everlasting Rest*. And let them that are called to suffer according to the will of God, commit their souls to him in well doing, as to a faithful Creator, 1 Pet. 4. 19.

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APPENDIX,

Containing

A more full and particular Answer to
Mr. *Hunt's* Preface and Postscript.

THe Author of the *life of Julian* having taken his Measures and chief Materials from the late *Libels* of Mr. *Hunt*, and both of them their whole Scheme from *John Milton's Defence* of that most execrable Murther committed on the *Royal Martyr*, by those whom he calls the *People of England*, who were indeed the very scum and off-scouring, the reproach and pests of the Nation; I shall make my way to the Confutation of the first, by some Remarks on the Writings of the other. And whereas I did onely occasionally reflect on some passages of the *Postscript* of Mr. *Hunt*, in my *Answer to the Life of Julian*; I shall now more particularly examine those other *sedition* and *treasonable* Wri-

Writings of Mr. *Hunt*, which since came to my hand.

The first Pamphlet which I have answered in the precedent Papers, is, *the Life of Julian*. He begins his *Preface* to the Reader with a story of *Mahomet's Horns*, half *Fire* and half *Snow*; which by altering the phrase he borrowed from a parallel expression of Mr. *Hunt's* upon the like occasion: for he compares the *Addressees* to those *pleasant Knaves* that cry with *one side of the face, and laugh with the other*, *Possicr.* p. 13. And to *him that acted a grave Spaniard with one side of his body, and a brisk French-man with the other*. This drew on his conceit of *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*; and it was very easie by so strong a *Chain of thoughts* as our Author hath, to pass from *Spain* and *France* into *Turky*; with the *Religion* and *Manners* of which Country he seems better acquainted, than with that of *Christendom*, or else he would never have compared the Doctrine of the *Cross* with the *Mahometan* Doctrine of the *Bow-string*, p. 8. of his *Preface*.

But sure he stretcht his *Chain* very much, when from the *Address* of the *men of Rippon*, thanking his Majesty for his *Declaration to govern by Laws*, and to *maintain the established Religion*, and to *call frequent Parliaments*, and desiring that the *Crown* might descend in the *right Line*; he concludes, that *they prayed*
against

against all these, and made it their humble request that they might be sure of a Popish Successour, and were weary of their Religion, p. 5. 6.

But he broke every link of this Chain, when (though he put on his *considering-Cap*) he could not find any *Precedent* or *Example* for such an *Address*. But presently had an imperfect remembrance (for such indeed it was) of the contrary Carriage of the *Primitive Christians* towards Julian: whereas our Author might more easily and fitter to his purpose, have remembered the Behaviour of some other Christians (as they professed themselves) towards King Charles the First; and then he might have deserved the Office of a *City-Remembrancer*.

But he wickedly, and (I hope by what I shall discover) in vain endeavours to impose his *Seditious Doctrine* on the Nation. For this *Notorious Plagiary* hath taken his whole design (as Mr. Hunt had done before him) from an *Argument* of that profligate Villain, John Milton, whereby he attempted to defend the Murder of our *Royal Martyr*: and that some passages in the *Life of Julian* have the same malignant aspect and influence, I have shewn in my *Observations* on a passage quoted by our Author out of *Sozomen*, in commendation of *Regicide*. So that his Chain of Thought, will hang

hang no more together than a *Rope of Sand*: for he runs so far from the *Loyal Addressers*, as to fall in with *Rebels* and *Regicides*. His whole design is to justify *Resistance of Lawful Powers* in defence of that *Religion* which we profess and allow of, especially when we are in possession of that *Religion*, and it is established by *Law*: (though by the way, both the established *Religion* and *Christianity* it self, as well as the *Laws of the Land*, are *ipso facto* destroyed by resistance.)

This *Leviathan* fancying to himself a wide difference between the Case of those *Christians* that lived under *Julian*, and the Case of the first *Christians*, sports himself in the depth of this great Invention, and scoffs at all the Arguments brought for *Obedience* and *Subjection* from the *Primitive Christians* before *Constantine*, as the *Leviathan* in *Job* 41. who esteemed *Iron as Straw*, and *Brass as rotten wood*, and laugheth at the shaking of the *Spear*. Their case (saith he of the *Christians* in *Julians* time) and that of the *Primitive Christians*, was as widely different, as *Laws for men* and against *men* can possibly make them: Yet for ought I see, be the *Laws for or against his Doctrine of Resistance*, it must be swallowed; for though he tells us that *our Laws* do not admit of such thoughts as his *Julian Christians* did put in practice, yet the design must on, or the whole labour

labour of our Author must perish.

And who can help it? when men will build on the *Sand*, and *daub with untempered Mortar*, such as *blood and slime*, whatever *cost or time* is bestowed on such a *Fabrick*, is cast away, and the *fall* of it will be great. On this *false supposition* these two *Master-builders*, with whom I am now accounting, do with an *unaccountable Confidence* lay the *stress* of all their Discourses. And though I have said enough to destroy this *false Hypothesis* in the *Answer*, yet because they think to *supersede* the Arguments brought for *Obedience*, from the practice of the *first Christians* for three hundred years, and persuade the *present Age* that they do not at all concern us, but that we may rather do as the *Julian Christians* did, that is, *rail at and resist* our *Superiours*, having our Religion *established by Law*, though both our *Religion* and *Law* declare precisely that we *may not resist*, for any pretence whatsoever; I shall add somewhat here to *prevent* that *prejudice* and *preoccupation* which our *Authors* have *falsly and maliciously* insinuated, And to this end, I shall prove, that the *Christians* in *Julians* time were under the *same Government* and *circumstances* (abstracted from the *Christian Religion*) with those of the *first three hundred years*; and if they had *resisted*, it was altogether as *unjustifiable* as that of those *Primitive*

mitive Christians would have been, or ours now can be.

Cicero acquaints us wherein the Imperial Power did consist when it was first founded among the Romans, l. 3. *de Legibus*, in these words: *Regio Imperio duo sunt, iique præeundo, judicando, consulendo, Prætores, Judices, Consules appellantur: Militiæ Summum jus habento, nemini parento: Ollis salus Populi Suprema Lex esto.* (i. e.) Let there be two persons in the Royal Empire, and let them be called from their precedence Prætors, from their Judicature Judges, from their Consultations Consuls: Let them have the highest command of the Militia: Let them obey no man: Let the safety of the people be to them the Supream Law. How this latter Clause is to be understood, is fully resolved in the preceding Discourse. But all these do certainly amount to an Absolute uncontrollable power, which being first settled in the two Consuls, was afterward by the Senate conferred on *Augustus*, and called the *Lex Regia*: by which it was declared, that (*Quicquid per Epistolam statuit, cognoscens decrevit, aut per Edictum propalavit, Lex esto*) Whatever he should determine by his Epistle, whatever he should decree upon Cognizance, or declare by his Edict, should be a Law.

This very power of the Empire was in being when our Saviour and his Apostles lived on

on the Earth ; who, though they were far remote from Rome, yet precisely submitted to the Roman Emperours, and did indispenſibly oblige his Diſciples in all times to come to do the ſame ; becauſe the powers that then were, though an *Auguſtus*, *Nero*, or *Claudian*, Hea-then and Perſecutors, were ordained of God, to be his *Minifters*, to bear the *Sword*, to receive *Tribute* and *Custom*, *Fear* and *Honour*, &c. And that therefore they muſt needs be ſubject, not onely for fear of wrath, but for the *Lords ſake*, and for *Conſcience ſake*. And the obedience which was to be given them is expreſſed by *ὑπακούειν*, to be at their Command as *Souldiers* are to their *General*, and *παραγγέλλειν* to obey them at a word, *Titus* 3. 1. Hence it was (I mean from the *Roman Laws*, not from the *Scripture*) that *Dion* ſays of *Auguſtus*, that he was *Ἀπολυτὸς, καὶ ἀποκατενόμος, καὶ ἰαυτός, καὶ ἐξ ὧν νόμος*. *Free, and of abſolute Authoritie, both over himſelf, and over the Laws : for, Rex eſt Lex viva, & reipſa præcipit ut Lex per ſcriptum : That the Emperour is a living Law, and commands as much by word, as the Law doth by writing : and the S. P. Q. R. by their own abbreviation, became an unintelligible Cypher.*

Thus the *Roman Empire* continued until the Reign of *Conſtantine*. or elſe he could not have propagated the *Chriſtian Religion* ſo much as he did by his *Edicts* ; there being, as is

ſup.

supposed, many *strict Laws* against it. And it is not to be credited by *Christians*, that the *Imperial power* should be *disannulled* by their becoming *Christians*. If it be said that they *themselves* did consent to the *abridgment* of it, let the *Records* be produced, and let the *Donation of Constantine* in this respect be more probable than that *filitious one* which the *Pope* produceth for the *Western Empire*, of which I have spoken in another place. See the *History of the Donatists*. What was done by *Constantine*, who was not *baptized* till the latter end of his *Reign*, and made many *Edicts* for the *toleration* of all *Religions*, as is shewn in the foregoing *Papers*, will scarce amount to an *Establishment* of the *Christian Religion*.

But granting that he had to the utmost of his power *established* the *Christian Religion*, yet his *Successor* thought himself not at all obliged by his *Edicts*: for, by the *same Reason* that *Constantius* should be bound by the *Edicts* of *Constantine*, *Constantine* should be bound by the *Edicts* of *Dioclesian* for the *persecution* of *Christians*. But, as our *Author* hath observed from *Gregory Nazianzen*, who speaking of *Julian's Souldiers*, who (were most of them *Christians*, and yet besides the *Law of God*) knew no other *Law* than the *Will of their Prince*. *Invective* 1. p. 75. And in truth, if the *Christian Emperours* had been *explicitly*

licitly and absolutely bound up to their Subjects to maintain their Religion and Priviledges which by the favour and grace of those Emperours were granted to them, and the Subjects left at liberty to defend and obey their Emperours; the Emperours had been in a worse condition than their Subjects: for upon the Peoples changing of their Religion, as we know they did when almost the whole World became Arians, they might have resisted their most Orthodox Emperours; as Mr. Hunt affirms they actually did in the Reign of Constantius.

But what Religion could the Christians plead that they were long in possession of, and was established by Laws! When Constantius nothing regarding the Constitutions of his Predecessor, did with all his might, and frequent Edicts, establish the Arian Religion, and suppress the Orthodox, hath been already shewn. Besides, there were *Urbes liberae*, not onely free Cities, but free Nations under the Romans, who were govern'd by their own Laws and Magistrates, *ἡ τὰς νόμους τῶν αἰσίων* and *ἡ τὰ νόμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων* which they held inviolable. Of this nature Josephus, l. 16. c. 4. of his Antiquities; observes the Asian Churches mentioned in the Revelations to be, who had *jus in iudicio* *ἡ αὐτῶν* a right of Liberty, and legal Priviledges, yet did none of those Churches ever plead their

Priviledges, or plead *exemption* from the *Emperours Edicts*. Yea, Christ himself, who might have pleaded exemption from paying tribute unto *Cæsar*, (the *Children* as he says being *free*) yet to avoid scandal, he works a Miracle for the payment of it, and enjoyns his Disciples to *give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars*.

The weight of these and those other Arguments which follow, will I doubt not sink that Triumphant Arch which our Author hath raised, into those Quick-sands on which he grounded it. And I shall now proceed to erect a *lasting Pillar* to the perpetual Infamy of *this Author*, upon such *firm and impregnable grounds*, as shall continue against all the *impetuous but impotent blasts* of this *Boreas*.

It hath been accounted a good method for refuting of Errours, to reduce them to their first Principles and Originals. Be it known then to all men, that our Author hath *bid defiance* to the *Laws of God and Man*, in teaching the Doctrine of *Resistance*, which was *never taught* among any *Christians* until *Popery* was come to its perfection. That he hath as much as in him lieth, *scandalized* and even *condemned* the *Primitive Christians*, as *allowing* of and *practising* that *intolerable Doctrine* of *Resistance*. That both he and *Mr. Hunt*, have *defended* this Doctrine by the *same Arguments*

as the Jesuits, John Milton, and other Regicides have done. That John Milton, &c. received the same Principles from Mr. Burton, Mr. Burroughs, Bridge, Marshal, and others, in defence of the late Unnatural War against Charles the First. That their design is to raise another War, on the same grounds, against their present Prince. And though they seem to blind their designs by preparing onely to exclude a Popish Successour, yet 'tis beyond denial, that all the Arguments of the Author of Julian are levelled against the Prince that is in possession, and that he doth with the shew of Authority recommend the assassination of such a Prince, and that Mr. Hunt's Original far exceeds the Transcript in such impious designs.

If this Character be not black enough, let him that reads and understands, onely subscribe the name of the Author of the Life of Julian with that of Mr. Hunt, *In perpetuam Rei memoriam*; and you have all in two words.

As for Mr. Hunt, if this passage which I shall name do not amount to more direct Treason, than those for which he says he would indite a great person (no less than a Secretary of State) of—Treason in a plea for the Succession; I think there can be no such thing. The Paragraph, p. 193. as it is marked in my Copy, is verbatim this: Speaking of the Duke—*Let him attempt the Crown not*

withstanding an Act of Parliament for his Exclusion, he is all that while but attempting to make us miserable: if he be not excluded, he doth it certainly, (we exclude onely his Person, not his Posterity). And WE WILL NOT ENTAIL A WAR UPON THE NATION. THOUGH FOR THE SAKE AND INTEREST OF THE GLORIOUS FAMILT OF THE STUARTS.

Is not this spoken Dictator-like? Did Cromwel say more when he bragg'd that he had the Parliament in his pocket? Then, *We will have this, and we will not have that; We will proclaim the Family of the Stuarts Traitors, and we will have our own will.* His premise is this— *If the Duke be not excluded, he doth certainly make us miserable, by entailing a War upon the Nation: (which may be false, if the ancient Proverb be true (Gen. 22. 12.) In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen: it was spoken when the knife was lifted up to make Isaac a Sacrifice, (and we know that the burning bush was not consumed.) But the Conclusion is certainly most impious, We will not entail a War upon the Nation, though for the sake and interest of the glorious Family of the Stuarts.* To let pass that Irony of *THE GLORIOUS FAMILT OF THE STUARTS.* The plain sence of the words to a Logician is this:

this: Rather than not exclude the Duke of York, who will certainly make us miserable, we will exclude the glorious Family of the Stuarts. This is as much as need to be said at present, to cure the prejudice of a deluded and unthinking people, as Mr. Hunt calls them.

Had Mr. Hunt's Preface and Postscript come to my hands before I had well-nigh finished my Answer, and sent some sheets to the Press (the rest being called for with all expedition) that the Printer might not be prejudiced by the edition of other Tracts on this subject; I should have taken a more particular view of all that is contained in them: whereas I can now only cursorily make a few Remarks, and leave the Reader to judge *Ex ungue leonem*.

We live (saith he, p. 150.) in an Age of mystery and prodigie, producing things monstrous and unnatural: and our language must be agreeable to the things we speak. And so it is very obscure, and yet unnatural. But I shall endeavour to drag this Author to the light, and present him with his three heads.

The first is his *Invective* against the Clergy. This poureth forth floods of Contempt upon the whole Order.

The second is his *Justification* of the late Unnatural War: and this Head breaths out an horrible and infectious stink.

The third, his *endeavour to promote another such War as that was* : And this Head casteth out *Firebrands and Swords, to alarm and arm all the Malecontents in the Nation, for a resistance of their Governours.*

I know he doth not want his *lurking holes and Subterfuges* to hide these *monstrous deformities* : but all in vain, *Treason will out* ; and *Magna est veritas, & prevalebit.*

The first Head breaths out a *contempt of the Clergie* ; to which he makes way by a *Preamble* that will rather *aggravate* than *excuse* the Crime.

I. Our Author complains that his *bonest design* (as he calls it) *to serve the Church hath been by many perverted*, p. 1. of the *Preface* : and p. 5. that some have endeavoured to set his *two Discourses* (viz. his *Argument for Bishops*, and his *Postscript*) at *variance* ; that the *first* was written to set off the latter with some advantage, and that the Author designed to get from the *Argument*, a more pardonable *libertie of inveighing against the Churchmen in the Postscript.* Haberis confitentem Reum.

Doubtless the *Argument* did not effect that *grateful Acknowledgement* from the *Bishops* which he expected. They knew him perhaps to be a *mercenary man*, one that *had* or *would* write as much *falsely against them*, as he had

had done *truly for them*, if it might tend to his *better advantage*; and therefore he was resolved to *pull down* what he had *built up*, and to seek more *beneficiary Patrons*.

Let us therefore consider *who* they were that thus *resented* and *complained* of Mr. Hunt, p. 5. *If it had been* (says he) *the conceit of the Popish Faction onely, and not also of those Gentlemen whom I principally designed to serve, and in them the Church of England, &c.* Here it is as plain, as if it had been written with a *Sun-beam*, that he means the *Bishops*, who were mostly, if not *onely*, concerned in that *Argument*.

But how maliciously doth he suggest, that they were influenced by the *Popish Faction!* who, p. 6. (he says) *had corrupted some of our Church-men with Principles that subvert our Government, and betray the Rights of our people: They have debauched the manners of our Church-men, and lessened their Authority and Esteem with the people: The Order is enslaved, by collation of Preferments upon less worthy men. Qui beneficium accepit, libertatem amisit.*

Is not this a *stout Advocate* for *Bishops*, that tells the world, that those of *that Order* (indefinitely) are *contemptible slaves*, that have *sold their Libertie for Preferment*; that they are *corrupted in their Principles*, to the *subver-*

ting of our Government, and betraying the Rights of the people; and so debauched in their manners, as that they have lessened their esteem and authoritie with the people? Is not this the old *Censor Morum*, or *Cato Redivivus*? And is it possible that a learned man should thus prevaricate and contradict himself so grossly, as it were in the same breath?

Let not Mr. *Hunt* think to evade this, and say he speaks this of our younger Divines, (of which we shall hear enough by and by, to make all good mens ears tingle at the horrid falsehood of it): he speaks this of the Order, and particularly of the dignified men of that Order; of these it is that he speaks, p. 7. (for he is not yet come to his distinction of young and old Divines; those that are enslaved by the *Preferment* they have, and those that seek *Preferment* by other arts, of which anon) That they lick up the *Vomit* of Popish Priests; and whatever is said maliciously by them against the first Reformers, is daily repeated by (now come in) our young Clerks out of the Pulpit, with advantages of immodestie and indiscretion.

Now for our young Divines, whom (p. 50. of the Postscript) he calls good-natur'd Gentlemen of the Clergie, *Tom Triplet* is the onely young man that I knew, who was so lasht after he came from the University: Old *Gill*
never

never laid on so unmercifully, as this Demagogue doth, p. 9. We have a sort of young men that have left nothing behind them in the *Universitie* but the taint of a bad example, and brought no more Learning with them thence, than what serves to make them more assured and more remarkable Coxcombs; who will undertake to discourse continually of the Interest of Religion, of which they have no manner of sense; and of the Constitution of our Government, of which they are utterly ignorant. P. 8. These, like *Dotterels*, *Apes*, and *Parrets*, who have no more understanding than those Animals, are perpetually repeating any thing, though never so destructive to Church and State, that is suggested by any *Popish Mercenarie Writer*; if he hath but the cunning to bestow an idle Complement upon the Church, or calls *Rogue* or *Villain* seemingly, or in pretence, for their sakes, (I hope our *Bishops* have not hired any for such purposes) especially if he can furnish to their young Invention any *Topicks of Raillerie* against an *Imaginary Presbytery*, and against the *Parliaments*, &c. a very fair Capacitie and Recommendation this, as they imagine, to *Preferment*: These are the men I confess for whose sake I writ the *Postscript*. The *Preface* then it seems was writ for the *Bishops*.

But this unmerciful man hath not yet done lashing our young Divines. P. 10. Too many

of the young Clergie (says our *Aristarchus*)
 do assist the Gentry in their Loyal Debauches
 most scandalously; for the service of the Church,
 and maintaining the honour of their Order.
 These degenerate Levites are magnifying perpetually
 the priviledges of their Tribe, extolling
 their Order, yet in terms that disgrace it; and
 by their lives they vilifie it. And now, like
 the old Persecutors, he hath wearied himself, to
 torment poor Innocents.

I hope our young Divines have yet so much
 of their Grammar-learning, (for the Subject is
 scarce capable of the more serious *Stellitenticks*
 of the *University-studies*) as to return some
Reflections on the laborious Travels of this in-
 famous *Tom Coriat*, and make him feel what it
 is, *Ludere cum Sanctis*, in our Lawyers Latine,
 (i. e.) to play with Edge-tools. In the mean
 time, his own folly and impietie will chastise
 him, it being evident that Mr. Hunt deals
 with the Bishops, not onely as men use their
 Dogs, who feed them with a bit and a knock;
 but as Butchers are wont to use their Hogs,
 who claw them and scrape them a little, that
 they may with more conveniencie cut their
 Throats: He advanceth them as it were on a
Pinacle of the Temple, that he may cast them
 down the more irrecoverably.

He tells us, p. 15. that *Calvin*, *Beza*, and
P. du Moulin, *Monfieur Moyne*, *Claude*, and de
 l'Angle

l'Angle highly approved of the Order and Office of Bishops: And from *Grotius*, that *Non debent res bonæ damnari, quia sunt qui iis abutuntur*: That good things ought not to be condemned, because there are some that do abuse them. Yet p. 11. he tells them also, the Apostolicallness of their Order will not secure it, if they do not fill up the dutie of their Office. (i. e. if they do not fully comply with his designe:) And p. 12. he remembers them that there are Churches of Christ that do make a shift without their Order, and Religion need not perish though the Order fail. So that it is plain, that by the word Order he means *Episcopacy*; and insinuates, that it is a needless thing, it may be grub'd up root and branch. And is not this a fair Apologie for his real intention to serve the Bishops?

P. 23. He complains that too many eminent men in our Church are brought to a dead Neutralitie; and thereby we are brought to this pass, That Religion it self must be the devoted thing to the rage and folly of the Priests of that Religion: (As if they had all conspired to be *felo's de se*). And on this ground he proclaims his Curse ye *Meroz* against them as execrable Neuters. P. 6. he says, They have raised a bitter Zeal against that Separation which themselves have contrived, fomented, and promoted: and it is brought to that pass, that those are accounted Church-Fanaticks, though Conformists.
that

that cannot contentedly see and endure the neerer approaches of ruine both of Church and State : These are their fear and their hate ; the Sons of Anak, the Giants of the Land, that they imagine so insuperable that they are for making themselves a Captain, and returning back into Egypt, p. 7. This he repeats, p. 46. where he endeavours to lay the sin of *Corah*, &c. upon those who in our days do most faithfully adhere to *Moses* and *Aaron* ; and would excuse those, who having lost their *Corah* and other renowned Leaders, by an exemplary Divine Judgement, did the very next day murmur again against *Moses* and *Aaron*, falsely accusing them, who were the meekest men upon Earth, of taking too much upon them, (i. e.) of ruling by an Arbitrary power, and making themselves absolute : For so, v. 13. of that 16th Chapter, they accuse *Moses* of seeking to make himself altogether a Prince : and v. 14. he is accused of seeking to put out the eyes of the People, as Mr. Hunt also doth, p. 13. Postscr. *We are used* (saith he) *as Sampson, bound, and our eyes put out, and made sport for the Philistines.* I fear Mr. Hunt will hardly have his eyes opened, till (as the mole) he comes to die. With such murmurings as these they so provoked *Moses*, that the Lord was angry with him for their Sins ; and, as the Author of *Julian's* life observed of the Prayers of the Christians in *Julians*

lians time, they contrived and effected his death: for he dyed in the Land of Moab, and was not to enter into Canaan.

Who they are that murmur at the Conduct of Moses and Aaron, is too visible to be denied (*viz.*) they that accuse them of Arbitrary Government, that proclaim themselves the Holy People; they who hearken to those false Spies that discourage the people with stories of Insuperable evils, of being certainly miserable, and having a War entailed on the Nation, fire and faggot, and an Inquisition, &c. For my part, I think these murmuring Prognosticators are they who are for making another Captain in the room of Corah, and going back again to Egypt. And though we do not look on these as the Sons of Anak, invincible Giants; yet are they as the Canaanites were to Israel, thorns in our sides.

They are still troubling us with their wiles and their lyes, their Associations and Consults, their Seditious Libels and Pamphlets, such as these of our two Authors: their Doleman, and the Rights of the Kingdom; Their Plato Redivivus, their No Plot, and Sermons of Persecution, and Daniel in the Den; which, like the Frogs and Plagues of Egypt, are croaking in every corner, and infecting every part of the three Nations. They which cry up those for the godly Party, and devout Men, that are inspired

spired with *Scruples* from God himself, on purpose to put *a bar* against the *proceedings* of *Moses* and *Aaron*.

By such *men* and *means* (the truth is) we are brought into a *great strait*; we have a *deep Sea* before us, and a *howling Wilderness* behind us. And yet we murmur not; our Sins have deserved these things: Nor do we think of making *any other* Captains to our selves, than those whom God in *great mercy*, and by *many Miracles*, hath preserved and continued unto us. We are not for *Egypt* in your sence, nor for being reduced to a *State of Bondage* through the *Wilderness* of a *new War*: We are for *standing still*, keeping our places, and *doing* our duties, and *wait for the Salvation of God*. Though we were by the wickedness of *unreasonable* and *cruel men* deprived of our *Moses*, yet God hath sent us a *Josua*, and *with him are the Priests of the Lord*, and the *Ark of his Covenant*, to which, we doubt not, the swelling streams of *Jordan* will *give way*, and we shall yet pass to *Canaan* on dry land. Now let the *Reader* judge who do *abuse the Scripture to serve their turn*, as *Mr. Hunt* doth advise, p. 46.

P. 35. *Mr. Hunt* becomes an Advocate for a sort of *Gibeonites*, that they may have an act of *Comprehension*; and represents them as a very *harmless* and *friendly* people. *The Dis-*
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senters (says he) have neither power nor will to destroy our RELIGION or Government; they are already of our Church, and it is expected that they should be Petitioners to the Bishops for their intercession towards the obtaining some indulgence in some little matters, that they may bring them into an intire communion with us. And again, That they are in profession as Loyal as any that boast themselves true Sons of the Church of England, p. 19. But though some profess an irreconcilable hatred, even in their pleas for Peace; the great question is, what their practice is and hath been.

Postscr. p. 89. Can any man imagine (says he) that any prejudice can accrew to the Church of England, if she did enlarge her Communion by making the Conditions of it more easie? And p. 90. Is it fit that the Peace should be hazarded, or the Nation put with reason or without in fear of it; or a Kingdom turned into a Shambles, for a Ceremony or a Ritual in our publick Worship? &c. What is it the Advocate of these men pleads for? hath he full instructions from his Clients? doth he know their minds, and what will give them satisfaction? What he contends for, hath by several men of the Church been granted to them.

Why may not (say you) standing at the Sacrament be granted— And the signing with the Cross in Baptism be dispensed with when desired? When

When the Dean of *St. Pauls* and the Bishop of *Cork* have made some *overtures* for *conceding* these things, Mr. *Baxter* answers the first, that he made them *sibi & suis*, for the advantage of himself and others of his own Perswasion; and without taking any notice of them in the *latter*, answers his Discourse with *scorn* and *contempt*.

But our *Liturgie* must also be altered for their sakes: *p. 91.* you would have *more Offices, and those we have, not so long*: though some complain they are *too many* and *too short* already. And for the *Rubrick*, that must be *altered*, (not for the *present* onely) *as general scruples shall arise*; and that may be to the *worlds end*.

But to answer more particularly: you say the *Dissenters* have *neither power nor will to destroy our Religion and Government*.

Answ. When they were *less considerable* for their *numbers* than now, being (as you say) *four fifths of the Nation*, they had both *power* and *will* to effect both. What *hath been done, may be done*; and Mr. *Baxter* justly feared that they were *Nati ad bis perdendam Remp. Anglicanam*. That they are the *trading* and *wealthie part* of the Nation, is generally boasted by *themselves*.

We know Mr. *Baxter* urgeth in the name of his Brethren, that there are *many, heinous sins*

sins in our present Constitution that hinder their Conformitie; the taking off of which will be an acknowledgement of our guilt, and their justification. As for the prejudice that may accrue by altering the conditions of our Communion, you give us a fair warning, p. 93. telling us of the Church of Rome, that their Doctrine of Comprehension is so large, that they destroy their Religion to increase the number of their Professors: by granting the demands of some, we shall but encourage others, and make them presume to be Judges in their case and quarrels. And we have found by sad experience the inconvenience of admitting such as the Country-conformist and the Author of the Life of Julian into our Communion.

And you say, p. 35 and 36 of the Preface, *That the King and States of the Realm will never suffer so excellent an Ecclesiastical Constitution as we enjoy, to be subverted: Tet the Dissenters project in Mr. Humphrey's Half-sheet, intended to be presented to the Parliament, doth certainly tend to her destruction, as hath been shewed elsewhere.*

And if the King and States will not admit an alteration, you know the Bishops cannot: and if the States will not, and the Bishops cannot, ought not they that would make themselves wiser than their Rulers to submit, (notwithstanding their scruples against a Ceremony)

remony) rather than to hazard or disturb the peace of the Kingdom? And is it not an unjust complaint of yours, of turning it into a *Shambles for a Ceremony or a Ritual*? And to conclude, if (as you observe, p. 92.) a discourse managed with almost irresistible Reason, Candour, Temper, and Address, be matter of exasperation, and they turn again, and be more confirmed in their separating way, what condescensions will reclaim them?

P. 36. It is added--- *That absurd Opinion that Dominium fundatur in gratia, is charged on those that are for the Exclusion of the Duke: And they think that by pronouncing that absurd piece of Latine, they have at once put to silence and shame all reasons of Nature, Religion, and State that urge and require it.*

How we can maintain the Negative against the *Papists*, if we should practise the same as they do, on this Position, I cannot perceive: and therefore we must charge it impartially on all that deserve it. Bishop Davenant admits it for good Latine; and I think that you quarrel at the words, to avoid the sense of the *Thesis* which that learned Bishop maintained against the *Papists*, concluding, that the *Pope* could not challenge the power of *Deposing Kings* by any Title but that of *Antichrist*, whose Founder was *Hildebrand*, who like *Satan*, claimed a power to dispose of all
the

the Kingdoms of the World: And you your self think that our Saints ought not to do so.

We come now to the *Postscript*, which he hath told us was written for the sake of our young *Divines*, those good-natur'd Gentlemen, who doubtless will *return* his Civilities. His pretence is to answer some *Objections* that were made *against them*; but in truth, they are his own accusations of them, which he *prosecutes* with all the *might* and *malice* he can, upon *this ground*, because the *Bishops* must be made *out* of them; and being *so bad* already, he hath foretold how much *worse* it will be, when they sell their *Liberty* for that *Preferment*.

It is said then, p. 1. (our *Author* knows by whom) *That they affirm it to be in the power of a Prince by Divine Right to govern as he pleaseth: That the power of the Laws is solely in him: That he may, if he please, use the consent of Parliaments to assist the Reason of his Laws, when he shall give any; but it is a great condescension in Kings to give a Reason for what they do, and a diminution to their most unaccountable Prerogative: That they are for a Popish Successor and no Parliament, and do as much as in them lies, give up our ancient Government and the Protestant Religion, the true Christian Faith,*

to the absolute Will of a Popish Successor, giving him a Divine Right to extirpate Gods true Religion established among us by Law, and to evacuate our Government by his absolute pleasure.

Then, after a little pause, having almost run himself out of breath to tell the Nation these Falshoods, he thus enlargeth himself, p. 2. That just now, when we are under the dread of a Popish Successor, some of our Clergie are illuminated into a Mystèrie, That any Authoritie in the Government, not derived from the King, and that is not to yield to his absolute Will, was rebellious, and against the Divine Right and Authoritie of Kings in the establishment, against which no Usage or Prescription to the contrarie, or in abatement of it, is to be allowed. That all Rights are ambulatorie, and depend for their continuance on his pleasure: So that though the Reformation was made here by the Government established by Law, and hath acquired Civil Rights not to be altered but by the King and the three Estates, these men yet speak (says our Lawyer) as if they envied the Rights of their own Religion, and had a mind to reduce the Church back again into a state and condition of being persecuted, and designed that she should be stripped of her legal Immunities and Defensatives, and brought back to the deplorable helpless condition of Prayers and Tears, do utterly abandon and neglect all the provisions that Gods providence

dence hath made for their protection: Nay, by this their new Hypothesis they put it by Divine Right in the power of a Popish Successour, when he pleaseth, at once, by a single indisputable and irresistible decree to destroy our Religion and Government.— That they believe no Plot but a Presbyterian Plot; for, of them they believe all ill, and call whom they please by that hated name, and boldly avow that Popery is more eligible than Presbytery, for by that they shall have greater Revenues, and more authority and rule over the Lay-men,

A heavy Charge this, (saith Mr. Hunt, p. 4.) if true: but he is sure it is imputable but to a few, though he had told us in the Preface, that many, too many were so corrupted: and in many places he speaks indefinitely of the whole Order. Now our Lawyer cannot but know, that it lies on him who hath divulged these slanders, to make proof of them, though he pretends they were objected by others. And all the Conforming Clergy are cast under the suspicion of these unsufferable Crimes. If Mr. Hunt had any regard to the welfare of the Church, he would have singled out such Criminals, and brought them to shame and condign punishment, there being sufficient Laws for the punishment of them: and it being the interest of the Magistrates to free the Church and State from such pests. A Judas may creep in

among Christs own *Disciples*, and a *Jonah* hide himself in the bottom of the *Ship*: But doubtless it is the *interest* of all that are in such a *Ship*, to have them discovered and cast out, that the *storms* which threaten their common *destruction* may be allayed; especially when (as Mr. Hunt says) they come often under *observation*, frequent publick houses, and talk loud. He that doth not according to his power seek to prevent these evils, is consenting to, and contracts the *guilt* of them. *Qui non vetat cum potest, jubet.*

But it consists not with Mr. Hunts design to do the Church such a real Service as to free her from such *miscreants*, but to involve the whole *Clergy* under the same *defamation*, that they may fall under the same *condemnation*. To this end, instead of *extenuating* the number of such, he *aggravates* their faults; as,

1. Being such as may choak the *Constancy*, *Resolution* and *Zeal* of the most addicted to the Service of the *Church-men*.

2. That they are acted by the *Papists*.

3. That they are agreeable to, and indeed make up the most modern *Project* and *Scheme* of the *Papish Plot*. And

4. That They deserve to suffer as the *betrayers* of their Country, and to be prosecuted with greater *shame* and *ignominy* than the *Traditores* were by the *Ancient Christians*. And thus having

having breathed a while, he this ill-natured Lawyer begins to lash our good-natured Divines again.

Upon such scandalous and false Suggestions as these it is (saith he) that the generality of the Clergie, who any way appear for a Christian Subjection to the King, and a defence of the established Government of the Church, are represented as Popishly affected, and betrayers of the True Protestant Religion and the Laws, &c. I would have Mr. Hunt to answer his own Question, p. 101. *What Fines and Imprisonments, Pillories and Scourgings do they deserve, that persecute the Church with revilings, when they themselves are tolerated?*

It must be some large Bribe, or promise of the publick Faith, that thus ingageth our Lawyer to support a dying Cause, and to take part as well with Papists as Fanaticks, to bring the English Reformation into contempt. For what neerer way is there to effect it, than first to represent those who he says established our Religion in Queen Elizabeths days, to be assertors and promoters of the Doctrine of King-killing?

Secondly to affirm, That in the days of King Charles the first, by preaching up the Divinity of Kings, and their Absolute power, that unnatural War was begun?

And Thirdly, p. 7. That at his Majesties

return, Fanaticism had expired, if some peevish old and stiff Church-men had not studied obstacles; and some craftie States-men had not projected that the continuance of the Schism would be of great service to destroy the Church.

And for the present Age, the Clergy great and small are all under the same condemnation; Great Friends to Popery and Arbitrary Government; such as have no sense of Reason or Religion; such as will not when it is in their power prevent the ruine of their Nation, but are either accursed Neuters, or else wilful Actors in drawing down the Judgments of God upon us. And we are like to have no other; the Fountains being corrupted, can send forth nothing but unclean streams. I pray God preserve the Honourable Ims of Court from such Impostors as Mr. Hunt!

Let not Mr. Hunt think to hide his Malice against the Clergy, by a seeming commendation of their Offices as Apostolical, when he adds, that Religion may subsist without it, and when by all manner of evil arts he seeks to enrage the multitude against them: Nor that he is to be taken as a Friend to their persons or maintenance, who labours so much to take away their good names, which, like precious Oyntment, I hope will send forth the better savour, for being thus Chafed.

Alas

Alas! we are not so *very Dolts*, but that we know such *little Arts* to be the *daily practice* of every *Sycophant* and *Tale-bearer*, who being minded to *disgrace* a person, useth the same method as *Mr. Hunt* doth toward the *Clergie*; first to *invent*, then to *spread abroad* and *aggravate* their supposed *faults* or *personal infirmities*, as pretended Friends. For thus they *insinuate*: ‘Do you know such a person, and do you hear nothing concerning him? There is a strong Report that he hath done such and such *evil things*, as will *ruine* him and all his Family. I am heartily sorrie to hear such things of him; but they cannot be hid or denied. I am much troubled to hear of such gross miscarriages. He was in a very good Way, and had many advantages of benefiting himself and others; but he hath abused them, and outlived them all; and his high Place and Calling doth but discover his nakedness the more, and will precipitate his ruine. It could hardly enter into my belief, that a person that knows and professeth better things, could ever have been guiltie of such Crimes. And perhaps you will be as incredulous as I was; but they are too true. I perceive *it is not all gold that glisters*. How a man may be deceived by an outward form and *fucus* of Honestie and Religion! I thank God I am undeceived my self, and hope others

*thers will be so too. He is a very *Wolf in
 *Sheeps clothing, a Persecutor of the Righteous,
 *who seemed a Preacher of Righteousness, &c.
 *Have no fellowship or communion with him :
 *he is in the very gall of bitterness, and the bond
 of iniquity.

If such *Insinuations* are *vile* and *odious* in a
vulgar mouth against a *single person*, how much
 more *vile* are they in the *printed Harangues*
 of a man of understanding, against the *whole*
Order of the Clergie, with a malicious de-
 signe first to *disgrace*, and then to *destroy*
 them!

Either this Gentleman is *well acquainted*
 with the *Universities*, and the *generality* of
 those that from *thence* are admitted to the
Priesthood, or not. If he be not, he is *inexcus-*
able for printing such *Scandals* against them :
 if he be, he cannot but know that there was
never better Discipline in the *University*, never
greater Circumspection used concerning such as
 are admitted to *Holy Orders*, than now there
 is : and that if ever (*Clerus Anglicanus est*
stupor Mundi) it was true that the *English*
Clergie were the *admiration of the world*, it is
 so now. And therefore the Author of these
oblique Reflections strikes at all the *Heads* of
 the *Universities*, and at all the *Bishops* in their
several Diocesses, as if they were the *Causers*
 and *Promoters* of all these *Disorders*.

I do therefore appeal first to his own *Conscience*, whether the *far greater number*, both in the *Univerſitie* and in the *Clergie*, be not men of *Learning, Integrity, Piety, and Loyalty*; and then he ſhould in juſtice have given them ſuch a character as the *major part* doth deſerve: *Denominatio ſumitur à majore*. And then I appeal to the teſtimony of more *equal and indifferent men*: And ſuch a one I take Dr. *Burnet* to be, who for his *late Writings* had the *Thanks* of the Nation in a *Parliament-way*; and he deſerved it, if he had written nothing elſe but the *Teſtimony* which he gives of the *preſent Clergie*.

God hath not ſo left this *Age and Church*, but there is in it a *great number* in both the *Holy Functions*, who are perhaps as eminent in the *exemplarineſs* of their lives, and as diligent in their labours, as hath been in any one Church in any Age ſince *Miracles* ceaſed. The *humility and ſtriſtneſs* of life in many of our *Prelates*, and ſome that were highly born, and yet have far outgone ſome others from whom more might have been expected, raiſeth them far above cenſure, though perhaps not above *envie*. And when ſuch think not the daily inſtructing their *Neighbours* a thing below them, but do it with as conſtant a care as if they were to earn their *Bread* by it: when they are ſo affable to the meanest *Clergie-men* that come to them; when they are nicely ſcrupu-
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leous about those whom they admit into Holy Orders, and so large in their Charities, that one would think they were furnished with some unseen ways; these things must needs raise great esteem for such Bishops, and seem to give some hopes of better times. Of all this I may be allowed to speak the more freely, since I am led to it by none of those Bribes either of Gratitude, or Fear, or Hope, which are wont to corrupt men to say what they do not think. But I were much to blame, if in a Work that may perhaps live some time in the world, I should onely find fault with what is amiss, and not also acknowledge what is so very commendable and praise-worthy. And when I look into the inferiour Clergie, there are, chiefly about this great City of London, so many, so eminent, both for the strictness of their Lives, the constancie of their Labours, and plain way of Preaching, which is now perhaps brought to as great a perfection as ever was since men spoke as they received it immediately from the Holy Ghost; the great gentleness of their Deportment to such as differ from them, their mutual love and charity, and in a word, for all the qualities that can adorn Ministers or Christians; that if such a number of such men cannot prevail with this debauched Age, this one thing to me looks more dismally than all the other affrighting symptoms of our condition, That God having sent so many faithful Teachers, their labours are still so ineffectual.

If any man think the Doctor speaks *partially*, let him hear Mr. *Hunt's own Testimonie*, p. 48. of the Postscript: *Our Age is blessed with a Clergie renownedly learned and prudent.* And p. 105. he commends *our Church for the purity of her Doctrine, prudence of her Discipline, and her commendable, decent, and intelligible Devotion.* This Testimony is true, and therefore they who *contradict* it cannot be too sharply rebuked. But what reason can be conceived for these *contradictory* proceedings?

This Gentleman (I conceive) might fancy himself to be *Chairman* of the Committee for *Trial of Ministers*, and hath taken his *Measures* for proceeding in that case, from the practice of his *Predecessors*, who formed *Articles* of the like nature against the Clergie of that Age.

Imprimis, *For adhering to the King against his Parliament.*

Item, *For preaching a necessitie of obedience to the King as Supream, and thereby endeavouring to introduce an Arbitrary Power.*

Item, *For disobeying the Votes and Ordinances of Parliament for demolishing of Superstition, and keeping out of Popery.*

Item, *For defending Episcopacie and Liturgie; for not keeping the daies of Fasting and Humiliation appointed to crave a blessing on the*
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Parliaments Forces, and the days of Thanksgiving for defeating the Kings designs.

Item, *For preaching up Passive Obedience, when the Laws do allow us to make resistance in defence of our Religion, our Liberties, and Lives.*

Item, *For insufficiencie, not being able to pray ex tempore, or to preach without book.* Witnesses Dr. Pocock, Bishop Sanderson, &c.

Item, *For administring the Sacrament to all that desired it, and for using the Lords Prayer as a Charm.*

Such were the *Articles* by which a great part of that *Clergie* was destroyed, of whom the world was not worthy. With such our Gentleman is still in travel; but I hope his labour will be in vain.

Read some of those *Sermons* and *Treatises* which of late years have been published by such as you call *young Coxcombs*. Consider the strains of *Piety* and *Moderation*, of *Reason* and *Judgement*, of *Industrie* and *acquired Knowledge*; and I am confident you will find so little hopes to be believed by others, that you will see reason enough not to believe your self.

Let him talk of the *persecution* of *Julian*, and other *Pagans*; this which our *Author* promotes, exceeds them all. Others did but *Occidere Episcopos*, this man seeks *Occidere Episcopatum*;

copatum; and under a pretence of *pleading* and *praying* for them, he contrives how to *prey upon* them. What else meaneth that *insinuation* which he quotes from *Grotius*, to gain it some *Authoritie*, having *bankrupted* his own? *Verſo in morem abuſu intermitti res ipſas non eſt infrequens*, p. 13. of *Preface*: which he applieth to the *Episcopal Office*. *Nomen & eminentia Episcopalis eorum culpa quibus obtingerat, omnem ſui perdiderat reverentiam, & in odium venerat plebis.*

I greatly wondered to hear that *Prayer* of his againſt *Sacrilege*, p. 103. *He that deſigns, contrives, or conſents to ſpoil the Church of any of her Endowments, may a ſecret Curſe waſte his ſubſtance; let his Children be Vagabonds, and beg their bread in deſolate places.* But when I call to mind *Mr. Humphries* projected for *increaſing the number of our Biſhops*, whom he would have to be choſen by the ſeveral *Factions*, *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, &c. and theſe, whether *Lay-men*, or *Clergie-men*, to preſide over thoſe Parties, it remembred me of a paſſage of *Mr. Hunt's*, p. 90. of his *Postscript*, where he demands thus— *Will it be any prejudice that the number of her Biſhops be increaſed, and that Suffragans be appointed and approved by the preſent Biſhops? &c.* So that when other *Trades* fail, *Mr. Hunt* as well as *Mr. Humphries* may have ſome hopes

hopes of being made *Suffragans* at least. For the *Order of Episcopacie* may be laid by, as he intimates, and then some *Lay-superintendents* may succeed, and enjoy their *Honours* and *Revenues*. Therefore to his *Curse* I shall add my *Prayer* for a blessing on *Levi*, Deut. 33. 11. *Bless, Lord, his substance, and accept the work of his hands: smite through the Loins of them that rise up against him, and of them that hate him, that they rise not again.*

The second Head contains a *justification* of the late *unnatural War*, p. 6. It is difficult (he saith) to tell how that late *unhappie War* began, or how it came to issue so tragically in the death of the late King. And being to speak in so difficult a case, he enters his caution, p. 50. *I would not be perversly understood by any man, as if I went about to justify our late Wars.* But it will appear to be *Protestatio contra factum*.

P. 102. He says, *That War would have been impossible, if the Churchmen had not maintained the Doctrine that Monarchie was Jure Divino, in such a sence that made the King Absolute.* This was a *fiction* of Mr. *Baxters*; and through the *Loins* of the *Clergie*, they strike at the King, as if that glorious Prince intended *Tyranny*. But that good Prince was far from any design of ruling by an *Arbitrarie power*: he had no *Army*, nor *Money* to raise one; but by the

the contrivance of some men, his Father was engaged in an expensive War for the recovery of the Palatinate, which exhausted all the Exchequer, and reduced the Royal Family to great necessities; and then they failed in their promised Supplies, and left him to a precarious way of subsisting, and to stretch his Prerogative for the preservation of himself and Family. He would have parted with the half of his Power and Prerogative, as he often offered, to have preserved or restored peace to his Subjects. But when he spake to them of Peace, they made themselves ready for Battle.

But were there not some other Doctrines preached in those days, which contributed more to the beginning of that War, than that of the Divinity of Kings? What think you of the Doctrine of the lawfulness of Resistance then preached and printed, under the same Arguments as now it is, by Mr. Marshal, Burton, &c. What think you of that Doctrine which (according to the Jesuits) taught, That the rise and Original of Government is in the People; and that as they gave, so they might recall it as they saw cause? You know who layeth down the same Principle, in a certain Preface—That Government is the perfect creature of men in Societie, made by pact and consent, and not otherwise; most certainly not otherwise: and therefore most certainly ordainable by the

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whole Communitie, for the safety and. preservation of the whole : P. 38. of Preface.

To what tended this other Doctrine, That the *Authoritie* of the King was in the two Houses, when they had frighted away his *Person* ? That the King was *Singulis major*, but *Universis minor* ? That *Episcopacy* was an *Antichristian Order*, and *to be stub'd up root and branch* ? That the *King, Court, and Bishops*, were designing to bring in *Popery* ? That our *Liturgy* was but the *Mass-book* translated ?

These Doctrines, with such *Remonstrances, Votes* and *Ordinances*, began that *unhappy War* ; The *Associations* made in *City* and *Country*, seizing the *Forts* and *Magazines* and *Royal Navy*, and answering all his *Messages of Peace* with *reproaches* of his *Mis-administrations* ; This is that which you call the *English Loyalty*. When they sent out *Armies* to fight him, when they had him *Prisoner*, and voted *no more Addresses*, they were, if you will believe them, or *Mr. Hunt*, his *Majesties most Humble and Loyal Subjects* still. Such as these I could as easily prove to be the *Doctrines* of *those times*, as that they are the *Opinions* and *Practices* of *too many* in *these our days*, though most *absurd* and *dangerous*, as they are now published by *too many* besides our *two Authors*.

P. 20. Pref. There is little reason to charge the guilt of the unexpiable Murther of our late Excellent King-- upon Presbyterie, which was not thought of here in England till the War was begun. And p. 21. Sure this Gentleman hath read very little, or dissembleth very much. Mr. Cambden in the Life of Queen Elizabeth is full of the Projects and Practices of such as planted the Geneva-Discipline here in England; what troubles they occasioned to the Government both in Church and State, and what deserved punishments some of them received, as Penry and Udal, &c. It is not possible but this Gentleman hath heard of, if not read the things controverted between Archbishop Whitgift and T. C. between the judicious Hooker and Mr. Travers, and Bishop Bilsons dangerous Positions. P. 21. He jumps with Mr. Baxter in his Opinion, That the Parliament in the course of the War, which was managed (says he) by such means and measures as were necessary and possible, in their distress pray'd aid of the Scottish Nation: They refused them any assistance, except they would enter into their Covenant— AND AFTER THE COVENANT WAS THUS IMPOSED, THEY STILL RETAINED THE ENGLISH LOYALTY, remonstrated against the Kings feared Murther, and declared out of their Pulpits against the Actors of that

detestable Tragedy. If they did *preach against* his Murder out of *Loyalty and Conscience*, why had they not *preached against Fighting*, and *pursuing him with fire and sword*, where he might have fallen as one of his Subjects? Why not against his *Imprisonment*? there the *Covenanters* were the *Loyal Party*, the *ROTALISTS* were the *REBELS*; and the *guilt to be sure* (says he) *belongs to the Rebel-side*, p. 21.

And as it was in the beginning of *that War*, so it is now, and by *our Authors principles* so it will *be ever*: they that with their lives and fortunes *adhere to their Prince*, though he be neither *Apostate* or *Tyrant*, are pronounced *Rebels*; And they who *fight against him*, on any pretence whatsoever, are the true *English Loyalists*. I would not have them called the *true Protestants*, lest the *Papists* should *insult* over them, and prove themselves *more Loyal Subjects*. It is another very memorable speech of Mr. *Hunt's*, p. 171. Speaking of the *Bill of Exclusion*: *If this Bill do not pass, they will take him for a wicked King too, and will say he hath no lawful Issue to succeed him, for his own Sins; and many other remarks of wickedness they will make upon him.* What he means by the word *too*, may be explained by the *I*, and *we* which he speaks of just before, and now of others *too*, that will count the King wicked, &c. It

It is somewhat obscure also to guess what he means, when he says, *the passing of the Bill is the onely means of the Kings Salvation from their traiterous designs*; and again, p. 172. *If he will follow the Counsel of that excellent Bill, he may live long, and see good days.* As if he could not be safe without it. Of such obscure places, we may conjecture by those other plain ones, wherein he hath manifested how great respect he hath for *his Majesty and the Royal Family*. Nor indeed can we expect better things from a *Republican*, who speaking of our *Kings Father* as he calls him (*sans Ceremony*) makes him and his Party the *Delinquents*, and upbraids him with all the *Calamities* which a *Rebellious people* brought upon him: and adds, p. 55. *If there were twenty Trojans derived from one Stock, that had reigned in an uninterrupted Succession, Two immediate Successors that should have their Reigns successively attended with civil Wars, were enough to efface their own, and the glories and merits of such Ancestors.* And so if another *Rebellion* should succeed, (which God forbid) farewell to the glorious Family of the Stuarts. For notwithstanding the glories of that great Prince, his unhappy death, and the admired devotions of the EXCELLENT *the stories of the Calamities of his people* (all his three Kingdoms involved in War during his Reign) (which is a lye by thirteen years) and the re-

membrance of them will be with some men, (of the same bran with Mr. Hunt, i.e. not very loyal) a stain and a diminution of the glories of the Royal Family, p. 53. Although others, more loyal, do think that it added another Crown to them, more glorious than the other three, (i.e.) the Crown of Martyrdom. In Princes (says Mr. Hunt) their Calamities are reckoned among the abatements of their Honour; and meer Misfortunes are Disgraces, and have the same influence on the minds of the common people (as they have on Mr. Hunt's) as real faults, and male administrations.

So that the Royal Martyr, who suffered so many barbarous Indignities with invincible patience and Christian fortitude, must suffer another Martyrdom in his Reputation; and the Regicides be renowned (because of their success) as men of real Vertues, and Patriots of their Country.

*Careat successibus Opto,
Quisquis ab eventu facta nefanda putat.*

I cannot perceive any instance of the least respect to the Royal Family, except that deference which he bestows on Dr. Titus Oates and Captain Bedlow, the Kings Evidence; on whom he writes a full Panegery, p. 24, 25. which he thus concludes: *The undoubted truth*
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of their *Evidence* hath given them the civil respect of all honest men, and will give the Doctor the publick honours of the Nation in due time. For my part, I live at too great a distance from such men, to ken them aright; and I would commend Mr. *Hunt's* own Rule to them that know their conversation, whereby to judge of them, p. 52. of the *Preface*: That their virtue of *Loyalty* will bear the same proportion as their other virtues do to the Canon of *Morality*.

To this Head of justifying the former War, belongs his *Apologie* for such as were then called *Presbyterians*: which he (as a faithful Advocate and Orator) still prosecutes.

P. 13. Pref. Our old Puritans and late Dissenters (he excepts onely the Fools and Knaves sent among them, and spirited by the Roman Priests) have not disliked the Episcopal Government. If all the Covenanters and others that disliked the Episcopal Government were Fools and Knaves spirited by the Romish Priests, we have great reason to be jealous of the present Dissenters as such; and the rather, because you tell us, p. 19. of a vile sort of Presbyterians in Scotland, (with whom some in England do conspire) who have deservedly put that name under eternal infamie by their turbulent and contumacious carriage against the Kingly Authority.

Yet even for *these*, this Gentleman makes an *Apologie*. First, in respect of their *scrupulosity*, p. 86. *Though the scruples of Nonconformists be as he thinks groundless and unreasonable, and often moves his passion against them, yet upon consideration he thinks their scrupulosity may be of God, and that some men are by him framed to it.* Take courage then, all you men of *Scruples*, the Good Old Cause is still Gods Cause: he hath provided this your scrupulosity (saith this Stoick) as a bar and obstacle in the natures and complexions of DEVOUT MEN against any Innovations whatsoever, that dangerous ones may not steal upon the Church, for the better maintaining the simplicity and purity of the Christian Religion and Worship. Bene dixisti, Thoma.

But thus the Predestinated Thief could plead for himself, that he was born under the thievish Planet Mercury, and could not resist his fate: *Steal he must, and repent of it he could not, nor be sorry for his fault, though he were to be hanged for it:* This pilfering humour was in his nature from the God of Nature, and who hath resisted his Will? The same Argument will the lascivious man, who was born under the Planet of Venus, and the Rebel and Murderer, who was born under Mars, use in their defence, as the scrupulous and obstinate, who were born under Saturn. And so any
vice

vice may be defended, and the whole blame transferred on God, who sent them into the world with such inclinations.

But on second considerations, our Author might have told them that these wicked dispositions were the effects of the corruption of their natures, contracted and propagated by original sin; and that there is yet so much light from Nature, but much more from the Grace of God, as to discover, and assist them in the correction of these unreasonable and groundless affections and passions: and not to encourage them in them, by telling them they are from God, and infused into devout men, that they may put a bar to such dangerous Innovations that are stealing on the Church, and for the maintenance of the simplicity and purity of the Christian Religion and Worship. This is a New Plea to encourage them to a New Rebellion, as well as to justify the Old. And we know what slender pretences scrupulous and obstinate persons are wont to lay hold on, to defend themselves in very unlawful practices, in such cases as are confessedly unreasonable and dangerous, and to which they have a natural inclination. The Vulgar need a Curb to restrain them, and not a Spur to provoke and haste them on.

When therefore you ask (p. 86.) *What affrightment all this while, either to Church or State,*

State, from this weak and pitiful scrupulosity? Where lies the Treason or Sacrilege? Let our Author consult the History of the late War, and Experience (which some say is) the Mistress of Fools, may resolve him. It is no more agreeable to a scrupulous man about a Ceremony of the Church, to depose and murder his lawful Prince, than for a man of a nice Conscience to be impiously wicked, p. 33. Pref. Yet Mr. Baxter and others will tell you, that the greatest Impieties and Outrages have been committed by such men as pretended niceness and scruples of Conscience for their justification. And who they were that would strain at Gnats and swallow Camels, our Saviour told us long since.

But to return. Upon this very Ground of a natural complexion, &c. p. 19. of the Preface, he would excuse a vile sort of Presbyterians in Scotland (as he calls them) who have deservedly put that name under eternal infamy, by their turbulent and contumacious carriage against the Kingly Authority. Which yet (he there says) is not imputable so much to Presbytery, as to the barbarous Manners and rough Genius of that Nation. And is it not strange, that neither the Learning and Knowledge of that Nation, which afforded some men, of all Ages, of great excellency, and which usually (*emollit mores, nec finit esse ferus*) doth correct the brutish dispositions of men; nor the power of God-
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linefs and purity of Doctrine and Worship, to which, especially in latter times, they pretended beyond all other Nations, and was proposed by them, and accepted by some of our own Nation, as the great Rule next to (if not above) the Word of God, for our Reformation; could so far reform them, as to teach them Obedience to their lawful Princes, but they must still remain infamous, (as our Author observes) for Disloyalty and a barbarous Treatment of their Kings? And is it not yet more strange, that we, who are of a better Genius, should learn of them, who (as you note) do boast of one hundred and fifty Kings in succession in that Kingdom (and you certainly aver) that they really imprisoned, deposed, and murdered fifty at least, before the time of Mary Queen of Scots, that such an Original should be proposed to the English Nation, that their Chronicles may also be defiled with the blood of their Kings?

As for what you say (p. 20. Pref.) concerning the *Queen of Scots*, that her prosecution was promoted by the *English Bishops*; which putrid Vomit the Author of *Julian's Life* licked up, and hath disgorged again, to make the whole Nation stink: I have said enough to vindicate the *Bishops* from that foul Aspersi^on. It being designed by the Wisdom of the Parliament, and by them justified, for many Treasonable actions and Insurrections by
her

her practised and contrived; for which ~~she~~ was legally condemned, not as a *Queen*, nor as a *Popish Successour*, much less as *our Queen*; but as a *professed Enemy* to her Majestie that then happily reigned over us; from whom she actually claimed the *Crown*, and endeavour'd by force to *usurp* it. And she having first *resigned* her *Crown*, and came hither for *protection*, which she forfeited by her frequent practices of *Treason*, was tried and condemned as the *Wife* of a *Subject of this Land*. And *happie* had it been for *this Nation*, if they had never learnt any other *Regicide* than this *Filithious one* wherewith the *Bishops* are chiefly charged, for no other reason that I can divine, but because they will not give consent to *another more unexcusable action* now.

This rash *Assertion* of yours destroys all that *laudible endeavour* which you have *worthily attempted* for the vindication of our *Bishops*: in *other matters*, this is a *Scandalum Magnatum with a witness*; and I hope you have yet so much *ingenuity*, as to put your self to the *voluntarie Penance* of a *Recantation*, the slander being so *notoriously false*. And I am perswaded that the *convictions* of your *Conscience* will not give you any rest, till you have made them as *publick satisfaction* as the *injury* you have done them is.

I proceed now to the third Head of his
Dis-

Discourse, which leads me to shew the *endeavours used* to engage the Nation in a *second unnatural War*: And I shall begin with that Speech of this Author, p. 52. of Postscript. *The panick fear of the change of the Government that this Doctrine* (of the Divinitie of Kings) *occasioned, and the divisions it made among us, was the principal cause of the late War.* And p. 102. *That War would have been impossible, if the Church-men had not maintained the Doctrine, that Monarchie was Jure Divino in such a sence as made the King absolute: and they and the Church in consequence perished by it.*

Now you have heard already how loudly the young Divines are accused for preaching this Doctrine. And how false soever the Accusation be, the Nation is called to stand upon her guard, and the Royal Standard is feigned to be set up; and perhaps the Seditious partie are really listed and associated. And every man is called on to declare for what Partie he will engage: The Neuters are accursed; the Associators declared to be, such as retain the old English Loyaltie, after the taking of the Covenant; and all that oppose these, betrayers of their Religion, their Countrie, and the Laws; yea, they are told, p. 149. that they ought not to subject the Professors of the true Religion again, (as if they had once done it already) to Slaughters, Fire, Faggots, Tortures, Inquisitions,

tions, and *Massacres*: When the *Bishops* and *Loyal partie* were they who suffer'd these, or as great tortures as these, for their *Religion* and *Loyaltie*, from the *irreligious* and *Rebel-partie*.

But to *undeceive* the *multitude*, let them consider by what arts a *new War* is contrived. As,

1. By *slandering* all such as oppose the *Association*, and *popular torrent* of *Sedition* and *Rebellion*: as, p. 27. of Preface, that the number of *Addressers* may be reduced to the *Duke's Pensioners* and *Creatures*. That the *Addressees* have been obtained by application; and the design was to make voices for the *discontinuance* of *Parliaments*, and for a *Popish Successor*. That such as write for the *established Government* and *Religion*, are a *hired sort* of *Scaramouchy Zanies*, *Merry Andrews*, and *Jack Puddings* P. 12. and impeacheth a *Secretary of State* as a *Traytor*; not considering that one such as *John Milton*, is the chief *Engineer* and *encourager* of all *Rebellion* and *Treason*.

2. By *divalging* abroad, p. 22. That the *Nation* begins to grow *impatient* by the *delays* of *publick justice* against the *Popish Plot*: though it be well known at whose door that lies. That the *dissolution* of *Parliaments* gives us cause to fear that the *King* hath no more *business* for *Parliaments*, *ibid.* and p. 17.

3. By *animating* the *multitude* to perplex his

his Majesty with new *Addresses*; telling them, p. 30. of *Preface*, *So strong is the tie of duty upon him from his Office, to prevent publick Calamities, as no respect whatsoever, no not of the Right Line, can discharge: nor will he himself ever think, if DULY ADDRESSED, that it can.* And p. 34. *At this time, if ever, the APPLICATIONS of an Active Prudence are required from all honest men.* And he himself hath given them a *Precedent*, in that *Application* which he intended it seems for the *Seditious rabble*— *We will not entail a War upon the Nation, no not for the sake and interest of the Glorious Family of the STUARTS.*

4. By acquainting the *Malecontents* that their number is four fifths of the Nation, who are such as love and adhere to our Government and Religion; though they are rendred suspected of destroying again the English Monarch and the Protestant Religion, p. 10. of *Postscript*. And therefore he doth but profane the Name of God, p. 95. when he says, *God be thanked they (the Dissenters, who are imagined very numerous) neither make our Grand-Jury-men, nor the Common-halls of the City for choosing the Lord Mayors or Sheriffs.*

5. By Reprinting such Books as were written in defence of the late War, and improving the Arguments for that Rebellion.

6. By his pleading for *Comprehension* and
Indul-

Indulgence, which p. 98. he says *about ten years since was designed to slight the Churches Works, and demolish her by a general Indulgence and Toleration*; and now they intend to destroy her *Garison*, those that can and will defend her against *Popery*.

7. By publishing it as an undoubted truth, and evident in it self, *That the Succession to the Crown is the people Rights*, p. 201.

8. By making large Apologies in behalf of those men of whom he speaks, p. 96. *What animations did their people receive, to despise the Church and her Authoritie, when their Preachers despised Fines and Imprisonment, to their seeming out of pure zeal against her Order!* And yet he adds, — *It is well known, several of them were in Pension, and no men have been better received by the Duke than J. J. J. O. E. B. and W. P. &c. Ringleaders of the Separation.* And again, p. 98. *Consider how the Church of England is used, which is truly the Bulwark of the Protestant Religion.*

And it is a pitiful evasion, to say that these *Fanaticks* are acted by the *Papists*; or if it were true, they were much more intolerable for that reason: and therefore I do with all my heart agree to your *Method* for rooting out the *Popish Plot*, prescribed p. 99. *By suppressing that contumacie that is grown so rise in the Dissenters against the Church of England, by*
put-

putting the revilers of her Establishment and Order under the severest penalties. But then, Caveat Author.

To conclude, we are certainly, as Mr. Hunt calls us, a foolish people and unwise, a stupid and perverse Generation, if we shall reject that gracious and gentle Government whereby God hath hitherto led and preserved us a flock, by the hands of Moses and Aaron; and exchange for a Saturn, or a Moloch, that will devour their own Children, and make them pass through the fire at their pleasure. But,

From all such Men-monsters; from all Sedition, Perjurie, Conspiracie, and Rebellion; from all false Doctrine, Heresie, and Schism; from hardness of Heart, and contempt of thy Word and Commandments,

Good Lord deliver us.

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THE

T H E
Life of Julian
 I N L A R G E D.

His Birth and Parentage.

JULIAN was Born at *Bizantium*, now called *Constantinople*. His Fathers Name was *Constantius*, Brother to *Constantine the Great*. His Mothers Name was *Basilina*, of a very ancient and Noble Family among the *Romans*. Now although the *Empire* was intirely devolved on *Constantius* (the Second Son of *Constantine*) his two Brothers *Constantine* and *Constans* being dead; yet for securing the *Empire* to himself, having a jealous Spirit, he contrived the death of his nearest Kindred, viz. *Constantius* Father of our *Julian*, *Anniballianus*, and *Dalmatius* Cæsar: which our Author would impute to the outrages of the Souldiery; forgetting what he tells his Reader, p.29. That the slaughter of his Kindred was one of those
 three

three things whereof Constantius repented him at his death. For which he rightly quoteth *Naz. Orat. in laudem Athanasii, p. 389.*

How *Julian* and *Gallus* his Elder Brother escaped that Massacre, our *Author* leaves uncertain: for having said that *Gallus* being very sick, the *Souldiers* concluded that the disease would kill him, and save *them* the labour; and that they thought not *Julian* dangerous, being but five years old: yet he would have it attributed to *Constantius* the Emperor, who, for ought we read, gave no Commission to spare them; and had they then dyed, would doubtless have found cause to repent of *their* deaths, as well as of the *rest* of his *Kindred*.

That *Constantius* shewed kindness to his *two Cousins* after the Death of their *Father* and *Unkles*, was no more than *Nature*, and especially the *Religion* he professed, required of him: nor could all his kindness to the *Children*, expiate his Cruelty to their *Father*. But that he should cause *Gallus* to be slain, who is noted, *p. 3.* to have been *sincerely pious*, and that after he had given him his * *Sister* * *Constantina* in Marriage, and declared him *Cæsar*, and found him a Man of *Personal valour* and *good Conduct* and *Success*, (I may say of it as our *Author* doth) it was a *rash act*: and yet if it be true that he designed to *Invaide the Empire*, not content with the *Title* and *Authority*

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thority of *Cæsar*, it was more excusable than the Death of his other Kindred, who were never reported to design any such thing.

It had been most commendable in *Constantius*, if, as he provided a *Royal Palace* for the Education of his *Kinsmen*, so being himself a *Christian Emperour*, he had more carefully provided for their *Christian Education*. That Age had as many *Learned Bishops*, well skilled in all *Humane Literature*, as any one before or since; and yet *Constantius* permitted the *Seeds* of *Superstition* and *Paganism* to be sown in that rank Soyl, as soon as those of *Christianity*; and 'tis no wonder if our corrupt nature, being left at liberty, prefer that Religion which is accommodated to its lusts, to that which especially tends to the suppressing and extirpation of them. And if *Corn* and *Weeds* be permitted to grow together in a fertile ground, it is no wonder to see the *weeds* to outgrow the *Corn*.

His Education.

AS soon as he was Seven years old, he was committed to the Tuition of *Mardonius* an *Eunuch*, by whom he was put to learn *Grammar* and *Rhetorick*, in the publick Schools of *Constantinople*. *Nicocles* a *Lacedemonian* taught him *Grammar*; and the famous Turn-coat *Ecebolius*

Ecebolius taught him Rhetorick. *Libanius* the Heathen Philosopher had a famous School at that time in *Constantinople*, whose Works *Julian* procured, and read with great delight: and in a little time becomes familiarly acquainted with him, often frequenting his School; and, as the manner of the *Grecian* Scholars was, he adventured to declaim publicly against the Christians, and (p. 4.) our Author says he would dispute hard with his Brother in favour of the Heathen, pretending that he only tryed how he could hold the weaker side of a Question.

He profited much in that sort of Philosophy which *Iamblicus* taught, being a mixture of the Opinions of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, of which he calls himself a zealot; and shewed great honour and kindness to *Iamblicus*. These were the Masters which *Mardonius* his Tutor procured for him, and were the Corruptors of his Youth: for being of a light and desultory Wit, and withal very industrious and inquisitive after knowledge, he hastily imbibed such Principles as his Tutors instilled.

He tells us himself in his *Misopogon* what he learnt under this *Mardonius*; which he relates to the *Athenians*. The Names of *Plato*, *Socrates*, *Aristotle*, and *Theophrastus*, are much talked of with derision. This old Man (*Mardonius*)

Τὸν Πλάτωνα καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ τὸν Θεοφράστου μαθήσαν.

donius) *having foolishly* (he speaks by *Irony*) *observed their dictates, perswaded me, being a Boy desirous to learn, that if I would tread in their paths, I should be better, not onely than other men, but than my self: And I (for what could I do else?) obeying my old Tutor, cannot change any thing, though I desire it never so much. And I accuse my self that I did open a more free admission to all the Vices of that old Man.* For thus he taught me out of *Plato*: *That Man is worthy of Honour who offends not; but he that deters others from offending, is worthy of more than double Honour: The first is profitable to himself alone, the others to many: that brings the Delinquent before the Magistrates; and if he also joyn in punishing the injurious, this is a noble and complete Citizen, and may be called a Conquerour in the conflict of Vertue.* This and some other *Moral Vertues* wherein *Julian* perceived the generality of *Christians* to be defective as to their practice, raised in him a great opinion of his *Pagan Tutors*; and from Lectures of *Morality*, he proceeds to learn more curious *Arts*. For,

After this, *Maximus* an *Ephesian Philosopher* (who was by *Valentinian* put to death for his *Impostures* and *Magical Arts*) taught *Julian* to cast *Nativities*, and make *Divinations*; and initiated him to the *Mysteries of Magick*. And as if he had not enough of those *devilish Arts*,
 he

he solicites a Journey to *Athens*, pretending to see *Greece*, and to be acquainted with their Schools: where he grew into a familiar acquaintance with the best of the *Heathen Philosophers* of that Age, which abounded with many that were excellent Moralists. A *Heathen Writer* (*Ammianus Marcell.* l. 22. c. 3.) says, that *Julian from the very first instructions of his childhood was given to the Worship of the Heathen Gods and Idols.* It is no wonder, if having such *Tutors*, he became zealously affected to the same.

This was his study while his Brother *Gallus* was living: and as soon as he understood of his death, which was an unnatural, barbarous action, and raised great prejudices against the *Christian Religion*, he was greatly discontented, and diligently inquired by those who were skilled in *Curious arts* what would become of him. Twenty years together he dissembled himself to be a *Christian*, and attained to great knowledge in that Religion; but rather, that he might know how to oppose it: for, as *St. Augustine* observes, (l. 5. c. 21. *De Civ. Dei*) *Cujus egregiam indolem decipit amore dominandi sacrilega & detestanda curiositas; A sacrilegious and accursed Curiosity perverted his excellent wit.* However, his proficiency in *Christianity* preferred him to be a *Reader* of the *Holy Scriptures* to

the people; and those Arguments of his which were learnedly and satisfactorily answered by St. Cyril Bishop of *Alexandria*, do demonstrate his Knowledge both of the *Old* and *New Testament*, for which he was admitted into *Holy Orders*. Now how could *Constantius* expect but that *Julian* being put to such *Nurses*, he should suck in such milk as they yielded? *Neglectis urenda flix innascitur agris.*

His Apostacie is imputed to these three causes.

First, To the *levitie* of his Nature.

Secondly, To his love of *Magical Arts*.

Thirdly, To his *ambition* of the *Empire*.

When *Gallus* was put to death, the *Emperour* had such informations that *Julian* conspired also against him, that he resolved to put him to death also: but by the intercession of *Eusebia* the *Empress*, he was sent for to appear at Court, and by her intercession and favour, was not only preserved, but within a short time declared *Cæsar*: and the *Emperor*, to ingratiate him the more, gave him his Sister *Helena* to Wife.

Before we give an account of his *Actions* while he was *Cæsar*, it will be convenient to give the Reader

A Character of his Person and Disposition.

HE was of a middle Stature, his Hair soft, and hanged down; his Beard long and sharp; a full and rolling Eye; comely Eyebrows, and a streight Nose; his Mouth somewhat large; his Under-lip seemed divided; his Neck fat; his Shoulders broad and large; and from the Head to the Foot, his Members were proportionable and well joyned: so that he was made both for *Strength* and *Activitie*.

Gregory Nazianzene, who knew him at *Antioch*, gives this description of him: That his Neck inclined forward, his Shoulders often in motion; that he had a wandring Eye, and furious Aspect; his Feet unstable; his Nose and Lineaments of his Face were ridiculous, and signified scornfulness; in his Apparel sordid; his Laughter was loud and frequent; his Grants and Denials were without reason; his Speech slow and interrupted; his Questions hastie and imprudent, and his Answers no better; one following upon another without Gavitie, good Order, or Method. Upon consideration of this *Physiognomie*, the Bishop thus

exclaims : *What a mischief doth the Roman Empire nourish ! for the inconstencie both of his Manners and Behaviour, and the great commotion of his Mind; made me to give this prediction of him; and as I foretold of him to those that were with me before he had acted any thing, so I found him to be by his Actions afterward: and I wish I had been in this a false Prophet, for that were better than that such a Monster should exist, and fill the World with such evils as never were in any other Age, though there were many Deluges, Conflagrations, Earthquakes, and Cruel men, and prodigious Beasts of divers kinds.*

Some Writers give him a *different Character* from others : That in *Courtesie and Clemencie* he was comparable with *Titus* ; and as much exceeded his Brother *Gallus* in those virtues, as *Titus* exceeded *Domitian* : in fortunate successes against the *Germans* , they equal him with *Trajan* ; in *Temperance and Modestie* , to *Marcus Aurelius* ; in *Justice* , with *Antoninus* ; and in *Knowledge* , with the *ancient Philosophers* . *Vir egregius* (saith *Eutropius*) & *Rempublieam insigniter Moderaturus* : *A person of excellent parts, and like to rule the Empire with excellent Moderation.*

His

His Actions while he was Cæsar.

WHen he was about the age of 23, *Constantius* declared him *Cæsar*, at such time as the *Barbarians* had spoiled *Gaul*; the Emperour being doubtful to carry on the War himself. *Marcellinus* (l. 15.) saith, that daily Messengers brought him tidings of the deplored condition of the *Gauls*, whose Country was over-run with the Armies of the *Barbarians* without any resistance. For remedy whereof, he residing in *Italy*, and not willing to expose himself to the hazards of that War, having made *Julian* CÆSAR, sends him to relieve that Countie. But *Julian* being ignorant of Martial Affairs, and considering what dangers he was sent to encounter, looks on himself as one designed for *Death* rather than *Honour*.

Neither of us (saith *Julian*) *were pleased with this Honour*: not *Constantius*, who gave it unwillingly; nor he that received it against his will: for which he calls the Gods to witness. And at that very time when the *Purple Robes* were put on him, he uttered this verse:

Ἐν αὐτῇ Περὶ τοῦ δούλου καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως

and

and told his Friends that he should gain nothing more by his *Honour*, than to *die in a great Enterprize*; and that he was sent to the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and *Hercynian Wood*, to fight as a *Hunter with wild Beasts*.

Marcellinus says the same, that it was a common report that *Julian* was chosen not so much to *relieve the distresses of the Gauls*, as that he might *perish in those cruel Wars*; he being then unskilful, & scarce enduring the noise of Arms. As he marched before his Army in *Militarie Accoutrements*, *This* (saith he) *is right as the Proverb speaks, A Pack-saddle on a Cows back*. It hapned that as he was exercising in the Fields at *Paris*, the Pins that joyned his Buckler fell out, and the pieces flew about his ears: which some taking for an ill Omen, he holds up the handle, and bid them not be dismay'd; for *what he laid his hands on, he held fast*.

Yet did this young man not onely defend that part of the Country which was yet free, but expelled the *Barbarians* from those parts which they had possessed, and in a short time regained many ancient Cities; and in one battle at *Strasburg*, overthrew Seven of the most potent Princes of *Germany*, and sent *Chlodomarius* the chief of them to *Constantius* at *Rome*: He also subdued the *Almains*, took their King *Badomarius*, and cleared the bounds of the Empire from all its Enemies: and *this he*
did

did (saith *Aurelius Victor*) with a few Souldiers, against infinite Armies of the Enemies.

But these Victories of his did so exalt him, that he believed that the Soul of *Alexander* was infused into his Body (as *Socrates* relates). His Souldiers also had so great an opinion of his Valour and Conduct, that they all resolved to proclaim him *Emperour*: which though in an Apologie to *Constantius* he says was done against his consent; yet as well his ambitious Spirit, as his future Actions, demonstrate it to have been his design. Which *Constantius* being informed of, commands him to return: And this he willingly obeyed; but carries with him his whole Armie, to secure him from the rage of the *Emperour*. The *Emperour* also prepared all the Force he possibly could, to give *Julian* battle. To which *Julian* was encouraged by his Southsayers, especially by *Aprunculus* an Orator in *Gaul*, who had instructed him in the knowledge of the Intrails of Beasts, and flying of Birds; and from the Liver of a Beatt incloied in a double Caul, foretold Success and Victory to him. When he came to *Vienna*, an old Woman that had lost her sight, hearing that *Julian* was come, cried out, that it was he that should repair the Temples of the Gods. About this time he sent to the Senate an Apologie for himself,

self, accusing *Constantius* of many faults and miscarriages; which notwithstanding, the Senate by *Tertullius* their Præfect answered his Messenger, *Autori tuo Reverentiam Rogamus; We have a great respect for your Master.*

It hapned that *Julian* being about to take horse, the Souldier that lifted him up fell to the ground. At which accident he said, in the hearing of many, that *he was fallen who had raised him to his Dignitie.* And this (saith *Marcellinus*, p. 189.) was done at the same instant when *Constantius* died in *Cilicia.* Of whose death, *Theolaiphus* and *Alligildus* brought him speedy Notice, declaring that *Constantius* by his last words named him his Successour. *Am. Marcell. l. 22. c. 1.* Though the contrary be not only affirmed by *Gregory Nazianzen*, but confirmed by the battel that was intended between them; of which *Julian* gives this account to his Uncle, Epist. 13. calling his Gods to witness, *that he never intended the death of Constantius, but rather wished for his life; and that he came with his Army against him, onely to obtain the easter terms of Peace: or, because he was condemned as an Enemy, he came prepared to decide the quarrel by a battel, if he could not otherwise make his peace.*

Of his Actions while he was Emperour.

JULIAN being without any opposition settled in the *Imperial Throne*, sought to gain the affections of all sorts of people by acts of *Clemencie* and *Justice*: And though he had been long since an *Apostate* from the *Christian Religion*, yet did not appear so, till after some time: in his *Epistle to the Alexandrians*, he says, *he had lived Twenty years in the Christian, and Twelve years in the Pagan Religion*, p. 200 of his Works.

He entred on the Government as a *Lamb*, however he had the Appetite of a *Lion*, to devour the Church of Christ: but he kept on the *sheeps clothing*, that he might with more subtilty worry that innocent flock. He frequented the *publick Assemblies* of the *Christians*, and re-called those *Orthodox Bishops* from Exile, which *Constantius*, being himself of the *Arian* Perswasion, had banished; thereby to lay an Odium on *Constantius*. And it hath been observed, That not long after *Constantius* declared against the *Deity* of the *Son of God*, the Empire was taken from him, and given to *Julian*.

Julian professed it to be his Opinion, *That*

no man ought to force another to be of his Opinion; and charged the people not to injure the Christians, or reproach them, or draw them to sacrifice against their wills. Sozom. l. 5. c. 4. And many Outrages committed by the Heathen upon the Christians, were done without his order. Theodoret. l. 3. c. 6. But as it is known that he did not persecute the Christians with fire and Sword, as Dioclesian did; yet he contrived more mischievous ways to destroy Christianity it self, than others did to destroy the professors of it: and as one probable means to accomplish it, he summons the Bishops of the several Factions, enjoying them to do nothing to the prejudice of the Empire; and on those terms permits them to enjoy their own Opinions, and different Modes of Worship. *Eo modo* (saith St. Aug. Epist. 166.) *nomen Christi de terris perire putavit, si Sacrilegas dissentiones liberæ esse permisit*; Thereby to keep them in a balance till he had settled his affairs, or to permit them to destroy one another, as in Constantius time the Arians had begun, and to save him the labour.

He seemed averse from putting any to death for their Religion, not so much perhaps through any innate clemency, as through a devilish Policy: for he had observed, that the Church multiplied under the greatest Persecutions; and the Faith, Fortitude, and invincible patience of Christians,

Christians, appeared admirable to their Enemies: so that he envied them the glory of *Martyrdome*. To this purpose he wrote an Epistle to *Ecebolius*, declaring his mind concerning the *Galilæans*, as he called the Christians: *That none of them should have any force offered them, or be compelled into the Temples, nor be reproached by the Pagans: and p. 213. writing to the Bostrians, he minds them How he had re-called such as were banished, and by an Edict restored their Goods which were forfeited. And though he practised the ruine of the Christians, yet he seemed to have a reverence of their Religion: for when he assumed the Title of Pontifex Maximus, he wrote to his Idol-Priests, and tells them, That the reason why the Temples of their Gods were so much forsaken, and the Christians frequented, was their different behaviours: The Christians delighting in works of mercy, providing their Hospitals for the Poor, the Widows and Fatherless, *ορφανισμῶν, πτωχολογίων & ἰερατολῶν* but his Priests were barbarous and cruel, inhospitable to strangers or their own poor. And to his reproof adds an exhortation, that they would imitate the Christians. And to the people he writes, That they should learn of the Christians to reverence their Priests, and obey their Magistrates and Governours. And he perswades the Priests not to gad abroad without leave of their Superiours, and communicatory Letters; and*

Such as did notoriously offend, he would have them suspended for a time from their Communion in things sacred, and partaking of their Sacrifices. Of this he speaks at large, in his 49 Epistle, p. 202.

And although he were a bitter Enemy to *Athanasius*, concerning whom he by an express *Edict* to *Edicius*, Præfect of *Egypt*, gives command to banish him, not only out of the City of *Alexandria*, where he had won over many *Noble persons* to the *Christian Religion*, and caused the *Pagan Temples* to be quite deserted; but also out of all *Egypt*: yet did he hold a good correspondence by Letters with divers *Christian Bishops*, particularly with *George* an *Arian Bishop*, whose Library after his death he charged *Porphyry* to preserve intirely for his use, p. 176. As also with *Aetius* another Bishop, exhorting him to come and live with him, p. 164. But he had still a hatred to their *Religion*, though he loved them for their *Learning* and *peaceableness*; to which he endeavoured to oblige them by *kindness*, being yet afraid to exercise *cruelty* towards them. And that he might avoid the Name of a *Persecutor* himself, he gave countenance and encouragement to the *Jews* in their opposition of the *Christians*; and gave them leave to rebuild *Jerusalem*, of which *Amm. Marcell.* l. 2. c. 1. & *Eusebius*, l. 3. ch. 17. write thus.

Julian,

Of his Actions whilst Emperour. 365

Julian, desiring to propagate the memorial of his Empire by some great work, intended the re-edifying of the Temple at Hierusalem, committing the work to Alipius of Antioch, who was assisted by the Præfect of Judea. But when they began to dig the foundations, terrible Fire-balls issued out of the Earth, destroyed many Workmen, forcing them to desert the work. With this Heathen Writer Eusebius agrees, and relates more at large, That by an Earth-quake the old foundations were cast up, which many came from far to behold; and that there came down fire from Heaven, which consumed all their Tools and working Instruments, for a whole day together. And that the night following, the forms of Crosses were visible in their Garments, shining like the Sun beams. Yet those hardened Jews, notwithstanding these three Miracles which forced many of them to confess that Christ was an Omnipotent God, believed not.

He had indeed so invincible a prejudice against the Christian Religion, that though he were convinced of the learning and peaceableness of the Christians, yet could not his heart be moved to embrace it. When that excellent Apology of Apollinaris was presented him in behalf of the Christians, he returned to them with contempt: *I have read, I have considered, and rejected it.* Yet although he did connive at and tolerate many indignities

and *violences* against the Christians, and made some *Edicts* against them, they did multiply and increase under him; as *Titus* Bishop of *Bostria* remonstrated to him, *that their number was nothing inferiour to that of the Gentiles; and in Antioch, in Alexandria, and in his very Army, the greater part were Christians.*

And although his designs were as bad as *wit* and *malice* could make them, I do not find that he wrote any of his Laws in *bloud*, nor in a *Judiciary manner* did execute any upon the account of their *Christianity*: which we must ascribe wholly to the *Providence of God*, who though he set this *wicked Prince* over them, as a *punishment* for their revolt from the *true Faith* into *Arianism*, and for their Divisions and Cruelties practised among themselves; this *common Enemy* being a probable means to *unite* them both in *faith* and *love*: yet the *Divine Clemency*, who hath the *hearts of all Kings* in his hands, permitted him not to make that havock of the Church which he intended. And *Athanasius* was a true Prophet, when he told the Suffering Christians that *Julian* was *Nubecula cito transitura*, a cloud that threatned a *Storm*, but would be soon *blown over*.

And ought not we also, who as yet conflict onely with our *own fears*, acquiesce in the *Goodness of God*, who may yet *pre-*
vent

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went not onely those *distant evils* which we fear, but those *real mischiefs* also which we are *presently* and *desperately* running into? Either the evils we fear may *not come*; or if they *do*, they may be *speedily removed*; and by the blessing of God, may be *Sanctified* by our *amendment*, in a greater love of the *Truth* and of *one another*.

While *Julian* was meditating against *Christians*, his *vain-glory* spur'd him on to a War against the *Persians*, intending to have added one Title more to himself, (*viz.*) *Parthicus*. And although he were dissuaded from it by *Salustius*, and other his *best Souldiers*, (*Amn. Marcell. l. 23. c. 4.*) as also by those *Southsayers* in whom he placed most confidence; yet would he by no means be diverted from that War; which he carried on with such *rashness* and *wilfulness*, that we may justly number him with those of whom it is said, *Quos perdere vult Jupiter, dementat prius*.

He was in his March presented by a Company of Souldiers with a *great Lyon wounded to death*; which portended the death of *some great King*, saith *Marcellinus*; but he took no notice of it. A Souldier also as he had watered his two *Horses*, was struck dead, together with them, by *Lightning*; which was interpreted as an *ill Omen*: yet on he goes to-

wards *Persia*; and as soon as he had landed his Army in *Persia*, he caused his Ships to be burnt, reserving onely a few of the least of them to serve as a Bridge over the Rivers that might hinder his March: which much offended his Souldierie, as arguing a distrust of their valour, and cutting off all hopes of retreat in their greatest necessitie. It hapned that in the first Onset which was made by the *Persians*, Julian had the better, and thereupon appointed a solemn Sacrifice to *Mars*; for which ten white Bulls are prepared; but nine of them died before they could be brought to the Altar, and the other ran away; but being brought back, was sacrificed; but revenged his death by such ominous signs as highly incensed Julian, and made him resolve and swear by *Jupiter* never to sacrifice to *Mars* again. So that here was another Apostacie of Julian's from one of his chief Gods, the God of War.

The grand Battalia of the *Persians* being at hand, Julian prepares for it; and in the preceding night he told some of his friends, that the publick Genius which he saw when he was saluted Emperour in *Gaul*, appeared to him in a sad posture, and sorry habit, passing by. He saw also an Exhalation in the form of a Torch falling to the ground; which he was afraid had been the Star *Mars* which threatened

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ned him. His *Aruspices* being consulted upon this, & dissuaded him from that Battle, at least for some hours: But he refused; and as soon as it was day, put his Army in order for a fight. The *Persians* were as early as he; and falling on the Rear of the *Roman* Armie, put them to some distress: which *Julian* hearing of, made such haste to succour them, that he took onely his *Target*, neglecting any other *Armour*; and by his *seasonable assistance* recovered the fault, and repulsed the *Persians*; and with hands lifted up, urged his men to pursue them, he himself being at the head of them, and on the very *heels* of his Enemies. In this Conflict he received his *mortal Wound*; a Javelin slightly wounding his Arm, pierced into his Side, and stuck in his Liver. From what hand it came, we have had occasion to enquire already; and as for the report that he pluck'd it out, and threw it in the Air, with a *Vicisti Galilee*, I find no great *authoritie* for it among the Writers of that Age. His wound being searched and dressed, the pain abated; and calling for his *Arms* and *Horse*, resolved to enter again into the fight: but his strength failed him; and hearing that the place where he was wounded was called *Phrygia*, he remembring that it was foretold that he should die in *Phrygia*, despaired of life, and about Midnight calling for a draught of cold Water, he drank it, and shortly after died. His

His dying Speech.

‘ **T**He time of departing this life is (my
‘ Companions) now at hand ; which
‘ as an honest and well-meaning Debtor , I
‘ gladly repay to Nature ; not, as some belie-
‘ ved , with reluctancie and sorrow ; for by
‘ the common Opinion of Philosophers I am
‘ sufficiently instructed in how much more
‘ blessed condition the Soul is than the Bodie ;
‘ and am satisfied, that when one passeth out
‘ of a worse into a better estate, he ought to
‘ rejoyce, rather than to be troubled : confi-
‘ dering also, that the Celestial Gods reward
‘ the most pious men with death, as the grea-
‘ test reward of all others. I also am assured
‘ that it hapneth to me after the same man-
‘ ner ; lest I should fall under some heavie
‘ burthens. as I undergo, or do any thing un-
‘ worthie of my self: having yet ever found
‘ by experience, that sorrows and pains as
‘ they domineer over Cowards, so are easily
‘ overcome by Valiant persons. Neither doth
‘ it repent me of my Actions, nor the re-
‘ membrance of any Wickedness afflict me,
‘ either committed at such time as I lay in
‘ the

the shade and in corners as I could, and
studied vertue; or since I came to the
Government. I think I have kept my self
blameless and without blemish, as one de-
scended from the Gods above. —In times
of Peace governing with moderation, not
without good consideration making either
Offensive or Defensive Wars, though the
issue were not always answerable: For the
Celestial Powers alone have the Sovereignty
of Events; concluding with my self, that
the end of Government is the advantage
and safety of good Subjects. I have ever
been (as you know) more inclined to
Peace and Tranquillitie by the whole course
of my actions; opposing Lasciviousness, as
that which corrupts both things and man-
ners; and whithersoever my Mother the
Commonwealth, how imperiously soever,
called me, though to never so dangerous a
Post, there have I stood immovable, being
accustomed to despise all fortuitous events.
I will not be ashamed to confess, that I have
heretofore understood that I should die in
War: and therefore I adore and praise the
eternal Divinity, that I perish not by any
Conspiracie, nor languish through the pain
of a Disease; nor am I condemned to death,
(*he thought it might have been upon his Bro-
ther's death*) but in the middle course of
my

‘my flourishing Glory , I have deserved so
 ‘renowned a passage out of this world. He
 ‘is equally to be esteemed a Coward , who
 ‘desireth to die when he ought to live, as he
 ‘who shuns death when it comes convenient-
 ‘ly. Thus much may suffice to have spo-
 ‘ken , my strength now failing me. Con-
 ‘cerning my Successor I wittingly say no-
 ‘thing, lest through imprudence I should pass
 ‘by a worthie person , or by naming one I
 ‘conceive fitly qualified , if another should
 ‘chance to be preferred , bring him into im-
 ‘minent danger ; but as a dutiful Son of the
 ‘Commonwealth, I wish her a good Gover-
 ‘nour in my room.

Having spoken this, he perceived his At-
 tendants to weep, whom he gravely rebuked,
 affirming it *a pitiful mean thing to bemoan a*
Prince that was a friend to Heaven and the
Stars. And they being silent, he entred in-
 to a subtile discourse with *Maximus* and *Pri-*
scus, two Philosophers ; concerning the *subli-*
mitie of Souls ; till such time as the Wound
 gaping, and the Tumor of the Vessels inter-
 cepting his Breath , having called for a
 draught of *cold Water*, he died the more easi-
 ly, about Midnight, in the 32d year of his
 Age, and the second of his *Empire* ; having
 been *Cæsar* Six years. He left no Child be-
 hind him ; his Wife being dead in *France* be-
 fore

fore he came from thence. He was buried in the Suburbs of *Tarsus* by *Procopius*, to whom he gave order for it : and *Zosimus* saith his Tomb hath this Epitaph :

Ἰσλίστη μὲν τὴν αἰσχροῦ ἐνδεδυκέναι,
Ἀμειβόμεν βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς κακότητος τ' ἀρχαῖος.

Of his *Vertues*.

I Shall comprise these under the Heads mentioned by *Marcellinus*, l. 25. c. 5. (*viz.*) *Temperance, Prudence, Fortitude, and Justice* : all which (saith that Author) he so *studied* and *attained*, as if they had been *but One*. As to his *Temperance* in respect of *Chastity*, he was so unspotted, that after the death of his Wife in *France*, he never medled with any woman ; nor was he accused of the least immodesty while he was young, and in his full strength, by those that were of his Bed-chamber. To which vertue his *spare dyet* and *short sleep* very much contributed. His dyet was always so *slender*, as if he intended to return again to his Books. His Supper was usually a little *Gruel*, such as a *common Souldier* would refuse, l. 24. c. 2. which he took standing, and presently went to view his Guards and Sentinels, and then returned to his Study, scarce allowing himself

himself so much solace as might content the necessities of Nature. What was provided for him as an Emperour, he seldom tasted of, but distributed it amongst his poor Soldiers.

He says in his *Misopogon*, that he had been taught from his youth to wage war with his belly. And never frequented *Theatres* or *Games*; which he never beheld but with as much uneasiness as others did with delight. He usually lay onely on a *Palate* spread on the ground, and would scarce eat enough to satisfy Hunger; abstaining from *Feasts* and *publick Meetings*, saying, *No man ought to be esteemed as temperate at home, who was dissolute abroad, and took pleasure in the Theatres.* His garments and manner of dress was very plain and neglected, and far from curious or courtly fashions. *Dost thou (saith he) desire to see the Circensian Games? you shall find them most elegantly described by Homer; take the Book, and read.* Such instructions he says he had from his *Tutors*, and them he followed with great pleasure, p. 79.

He was extremely delighted in the society of *learned Men* and *good Books*, for which he often professed he could willingly leave his *Empire*. What intercourse he had with the chief *Philosophers* of his time, appears by his *Epistles to Libanius, Iamblicus, Eumenius,*
The

Themistius, Elpidius, and Maximus. This last, though one of the worst of them, coming to visit him, of which he was informed while he sat in Judicature, he speedily laid aside his *business* and his *Robes*, and went forth in a familiar manner to meet him and embrace him. To the rest, in his Epistles he desired their *presence* or their *Books*; and stiled himself, *Their most dear Brother*.

For his *Prudence*. This was a Maxim with him, *That it was a shame for a wise man, having a Soul, to seek for commendation from any thing belonging to the Body.* His proficiency in all manner of learning, gave him great insight as well to *Martial* as *Civil Affairs*; which he so managed, that though he adventured on many great and hazardous attempts, yet he mostly came off with good success. He could by his *Eloquence*, as by a *Mercury-Rod*, appease the *Tumults* and *Seditions* of his *Souldiers*; and would threaten them, that *if they continued their Mutinies, he would betake himself to a private life.*

Again, he shewed another instance of his *Prudence* in remitting many *Taxes*, rather than to extort them from the poorer sort of people: nor did he exact on the *Rich*, affirming, *that his treasure was safest in the custody of his good Subjects.*

One instance of his *Prudence* was this, that
he

he would suffer himself to be *reproved* for any indiscreet action; being conscious to himself of *rashness* and *precipitancy* in many particulars. *Marcell.* l. 25. c. 6. *Præfektis proximisq; permittebat ut fidenter impetus suos aliorum tendentes; atq; decebat Monitu opportuno frænarent monstrabatq; subinde se dolere delictis, & gaudere correctione.*

He professeth that he used deliberation in all his affairs, especially of *Judicature*: *You know* (saith he to *Ecdicius* *Præfekt* of *Egypt*) *how slow I am to condemn any one; and when I have condemned him, how much slower I am to pardon him.* P. 120. And of his prudent conduct in all his affairs, this is a convincing Argument, that during his Reign he was neither disturbed by *Sedition at home*, nor invaded by any of the *barbarous Nations* from abroad.

His *Justice* appeared also in many notable instances: for he rather *shook* the *Sword* than *struck* with it: and though he made himself terrible, yet was he never cruel; but sought by the *punishment* of a few, to restrain the *vices* of many. He pardoned many that had sought to take away his life. *Thalassius* an enemy to him and his Brother *Gallus* was forbid the Court, which encouraged his enemies to accuse him; but *Julian* perceiving it to be of Malice, told them, that *Thalassius* had injured him,

him, and he must have satisfaction before them : and upon hearing he was reconciled to him, and he discharged him from his Adversaries.

When one accused a great Citizen for a *Traitor*, hoping to be rewarded out of his Estate, *Julian* ask'd him what the condition of the man was : he answered, *he was a rich Burger, and had made him purple Cloths against the Insurrection. If that be all (saith Julian) you shall carry him a pair of purple Shoes too ; and let him know, how little success he can hope for from such things, without greater power.*

He would say of himself, *That Justice which in former times had left the earth, was returned again*, l. 25. c. 6. And if we believe *Marcellinus*, although he would sometimes inquire of what *Religion* the parties litigant were, yet he would do nothing *partially* against any for their *Religion*.

As for his *Fortitude*, besides his patient enduring of extream cold and heat, he would encounter his Enemies *hand to hand* ; and by exposing his own *Person*, would keep his *Souldiers* from giving ground to the *Enemy* ; which he often did both in *Germany* and *Persia*, slaying divers Enemies with his own hand.

But he had a *better* kind of *Fortitude* than this ; namely, that which more becomes a Man, to conquer his own Passions, to bear
with

with Reproaches, to endure cross events with patience. *As for me* (saith he) *I resolve to bear whatever falls on me from above with a stout mind; for this is the property of good men, to do their duty, and to be of a good hope, and to accommodate themselves to what ever fatal necessity shall impose,* p. 218. And as men of true valour and magnanimity are seldom cruel, he expressed a natural clemency in all his actions; those against the *Christians*, towards his later end, only excepted; which yet I cannot perceive to be executed, but upon some great provocations by the rash and ungovernable among the vulgar sort of *Christians*. Of which the *Historians* of that time give many instances.

But all these virtues were fullyed with that one vile act of his, in becoming an *Apostate* from the *best Religion*, after that he had professed it for *Twenty years together*, and attained a competent knowledge therein.

His Vices.

AS his *Vertues* were great, so were his *Vices*; and that which was most predominant, was his levity and unsettledness of mind. For having been false to his *Redeemer*, he was never true to any of his *false Gods*. He was so displeased with *Mars*, the God of War, that

that he solemnly vowed never to sacrifice to him more.

He was talkative to excess, and boasted of his own *Atchievements*; *Popularity* and *vain-glory* being that which he especially aimed at. *Marcellinus*, who was a Heathen, a great friend and observer of his actions, says, l. 25. c. 6. *That he was rather Superstitious, than a devout observer of any Religion.* He offered costly Sacrifice, rather to honour himself than his Gods; and though given to *Divinations*, yet contemned such as boded ill. So resolute and self-willed he was in the business of *Persia*, that against all good advice, and ill presages, he cast himself away.

He shewed himself unmerciful in this one *Edict*, that he forbad the Professors in *Rhetorick* and *Grammar* to teach *Christians*, lest they should wound the Heathen by their own darts. Among his *Edicts*, those are especially noted which he set forth against the *Christians*; As first, his forbidding the Children of *Christians* to be brought up in the knowledge of *Philosophy*, lest, as is noted by *Socrates*, they might be better enabled to confute the Heathen Sophisters. 2. His forbidding *Christians* to bear any Office in his Guards, or Government in his Provinces. 3. His *Edicts* for seizing the *Christian Churches*, and imposing *Mulcts* on such as would not Sacrifice to his *Pagan Gods*. As

for *Sanguinary Laws*, our *Author* observes that he enacted none.

Greg Nazianzen, who knew *Julian*, hath sufficiently recorded his *Vices* in his *Stelliten-ticks*; from whence our *Author* hath taken his *History*. But as I would not believe all as truth, which some deliver in *Panegyricks* of their *Heroes*; so neither all that is said in such *Orations* against *Professed Enemies*.

Of his Works.

ALthough we might wish that *Julian* had never known *Letters*, because of those *virulent Satyrs* which he wrote against *Christianity*; yet the *Poison* wherewith his *Writings* do abound, having excellent *Remedies* prepared against the venome of them, by the *Learned Fathers* of that Age, such as *Greg. Naz.* and *St. Cyril*; there being also some remarkable passages concerning *History* and *Christianity* interspersed, they may be read with some benefit by *Learned Men*.

He says of himself, in an *Epistle* to *Ec-dicius Præfect* of *Egypt*, in which he desired him to send the Books of *George* an *Arian Bishop* of *Alexandria*; *Some delight in Horses, others in Birds, others in wild Beasts; but I from my Childhood have been a great lover of Books.*

Books. His proficiency in variety of Learning will appear by what is now extant, although it is supposed that he wrote many things before he was *Cæsar*, that are now lost, as several Orations sent to *Iamblicus*, the loss whereof he bewails in an Epistle to him yet extant. My opinion is, that *Julians* Vices were *real* and *deep rooted*, that he had but the *umbrage* and *appearance* of *Vertue*; which he therefore retained, that he might make them serve his *Pride*, *Popularity*, and *vain-glory*.

After he came to be *Cæsar*, he redeemed what *time* he could for his *study*, dividing the night into three parts: one for *sleep*, another for his *Books*, and the third for his *Military Affairs*; and usually he would pen one of his *Orations* in that part of the night.

Suidas gives this account of his *Writings*. First, his Book call'd the *Cæsars*, containing a short and sharp account of them all, from *Augustus* to his *own time*. Secondly, his *Saturnalia*, and discourse of *Three figures*. Thirdly, his *Misopogon*, written against the *Antiochians*; and another Tract shewing the original of *Evils*: another against *Heroclitus*, shewing how to live *Cynically*; and many *Epistles* of several sorts, of which 63 are now extant.

He wrote his *Misopogon* to revenge himself upon the *Antiochians*, who had abused him in

words, calling him *Monkie*, *Goats-beard*, and *Butcher*, for killing so many *Bulls* for Sacrifices: and that which most provoked him, was the *Impress* upon some *Coyu*, viz. *A Bull lying upon his Back upon the Altar*; which the *Antiochians* interpreted to signifie that the World was *turned up-side-down* by *Julian*: For these reasons, he upbraids them with their *Intemperance*, and their fondness of *Plays* and *Theatres*: Secondly, for their *Religion*, which he calls *Impiety*, though they worshipped *God* and *Christ* instead of *Jupiter* and *Apollo*: Thirdly, the *iniquity* of their *Magistrates*, who countenanced the *avarice* of the *Rich*, to the *impoverishing* of the *People*. For these things he blames them, speaking as of himself: And when he comes to apologize for *himself*, he confesses that his life was void of all *Pleasure*; that he was *too religious* and *severe* in *Judicature*, for which he prays their pardon; imputing these faults to his *Master*, by whom he was taught from his youth to live *temperately*, *religiously*, and *justly*: and that he had spent his youth amongst the *Gauls*, a rough and warlike people, ignorant of *delicacies*. The sum of this accusation we have in this *Syllogism*.

He that lives contrary to the manners of other men, is deservedly accused by them.

Julian liveth contrary to the manners of the
An-

Antiochians, in contemning Pleasures, and restraining Impiety and Injustice, which they allow and defend.

Therefore he's justly accused by them.

To which if we add one Syllogism more, you have the sum of that whole Book, viz.

He that bestows benefits upon ungrateful men, is a Fool.

Julian hath bestowed benefits on ungrateful men, in commending, cherishing and increasing the Antiochians,

Therefore he is a Fool.

Concerning his account of the *Cæsars*, *Socrates* in his *Ecclesiastical History*, lib. 3. c. 1. says, That he blamed every one of them, not sparing *Marcus* the Philosopher: And *Zonaras* in his third Tome, observes his ingratitude to *Constantius*, blaming him for his prodigality; feigning that *Mercury* asking him what was the property of a good King, he should answer; *To have and to consume much.*

The Books now extant are these:

1. His *Orations* in praise of *Constantius* the Emperour, and of *Eusebia* his wife. 2. In praise of the *Sun*, and of the *Mother of the Gods*: Against *unlearned Dogs*: To *Heraclius* concerning the Sect of the *Cynicks*; and a *Consolatory Oration* at the departure of *Salust*. His *Cæsars*: his *Misopogon*, and sixty three
Epistle.

Epistles besides that to *Themistius* and the *Athenians*. But the most *pestilent* of all his Works were those which he wrote *against* the *Christian Religion*, which are *mentioned* and *answered* by St. Cyril Bishop of *Alexandria*, in Ten Books, consisting of 362 Pages, in the sixth Tome of his Works, set forth in *Greek* and *Latine* by *Johannes Aubertus*; printed at *Paris* 1638. to which, for his full *satisfaction*, I refer the Reader

T H E C O N C L U S I O N :

IT appears by what hath been said, That *Julian* was a *perfidious* and *detestable* *Apostate*: A *malicious* and *subtile* *Persecutor*; who *designed much more* against the *Christians*, than God permitted him to *practise*. But as there is an *open* and *declared* *Apostacie* and *Opposition* of the *Truth* by *professed* *Enemies*: so is there a *secret* and *real* *revolt* from the *Truth*, and *persecution* of its *Disciples*, by some that *profess* themselves *Friends* to the same. And in our own *Age* we have known *some*, not only of the *Roman*, but other *Perswasions*, who may

may be *parallel'd with*, and in some circumstances exceed *Julian*.

For *Julian*, being a *Great Prince*, had the unhappiness of being bred in *foreign Countries* among *subtile Pagans*, who tempted him to *their impieties* in his youth: There are some who have had their *whole Education* among *learned and sincere Professors of the Christian Faith*, and yet revolt from it. *Julian* for Six years together faithfully served the *Emperour* in his Wars, to the great hazard of his Life: Others, even in *times of peace*, study to involve their Prince in *unnatural Wars*, to the endangering of *his and their own Lives*. *Julian* had a power to have executed his *malicious designs*, but was restrained: Others live under a *just power*, and enjoy *Protection and Peace*; yet their perverse Wills admit of *no restraint*. *Julian* employed his *Wit* in writing against his *Christian Subjects*: Others employ *theirs* in writing against their *Christian Governours*. He wrote *Panegyrics* of a *Constantius*, who had contrived *his death*: Others write *Satyrs* and *Libels* against their *Princes* to whom they owe *their Lives*. In a word, the greatest aggravation of *Julian's Apostacie*, was, that he had been a *Lecturer of the Holy Scriptures*, the truths of which he renounced, and wrote against them: And there are some who have been long in the *Order of Priesthood*, that have

have so far *revolted* from their *Profession*, as to write point-blank against the *plain* and *most necessary practical duties* of the *Holy Scriptures*, And whether *Julian* or *such as these* be the greater *Apostates*, I leave to the Judgement of the Impartial Reader.

F I N I S.

